

Early Modern Media and the News in Europe

Library of the Written Word

VOLUME 70

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Early Modern Media and the News in Europe

Perspectives from the Dutch Angle

By

Joop W. Koopmans



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Cover illustration: Mercury throws books to the earth; with the motto *Terrarum ubique munera spargit* (He scattereth gifts everywhere in the world). Engraving of (the workshop of) Bernard Picart (1673–1733). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, The Netherlands (<http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.313406>).

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Koopmans, Joop W., author.

Title: Early modern media and the news in Europe : perspectives from the Dutch angle / by Joop W. Koopmans.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2018. | Series: Library of the written word ; volume 70 | Includes bibliographical references and indexes.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018030074 (print) | LCCN 2018041594 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004379329 (e-book) | ISBN 9789004379305 (hardback : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Periodicals--Publishing--Netherlands--History. | Dutch periodicals--Publishing--History. | Newspaper publishing--Netherlands--History. | Journalism--Netherlands--History. | Europe--Press coverage--Netherlands.

Classification: LCC Z6956.N45 (ebook) | LCC Z6956.N45 K66 2018 (print) | DDC 079/.492--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2018030074>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1874-4834

ISBN 978-90-04-37930-5 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-37932-9 (e-book)

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Dedicated to Bote Smid



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Acknowledgements

In one way or another, many persons and institutions were involved in the history of this book. I am indebted to all of them; however, I can only mention a couple of names and groups. First, I wish to thank Andrew Pettegree, since he invited me to publish this book as a volume in the series Library of the Written Word. I felt very honored when he asked me to republish a selection of my chapters and articles that I published in a variety of volumes and periodicals since 2000. Secondly, my thanks go to the University of Groningen, in particular to the Groningen Research Institute for the Study of Culture (ICOG) for allowing me to write my papers without any obligations concerning content and purpose. ICOG generously supported me in practical affairs, such as travel costs for going to archives, libraries and conferences.

Furthermore, I am indebted to all the previous publishers of this volume's chapters for giving their permission to republish them, and the institutions that delivered permission to republish illustrations derived from their collections, or offered them for free via the Internet. The concerning publishers are: Institute for Northern and Eastern European Studies (INOS) in Groningen, the Netherlands (chapter three), Peeters in Leuven, Belgium (chapters four, nine and fifteen), Palgrave MacMillan in London, United Kingdom (chapter five), edition lumière in Bremen, Germany (chapter six), Routledge (Taylor and Francis Group) in Abingdon-on-Thames, United Kingdom—as publisher of the periodicals *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Countries Studies* and *Media History*—(chapters ten and eleven), and Verloren in Hilversum, the Netherlands (chapter fourteen). To make the overview almost complete: Brill earlier published chapters one, seven, eight and twelve in other volumes of the series Library of the Written Word. The institutions related to the illustrations are: University of Groningen Library, Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, University Library Leiden, Amsterdam City Archives, The Hague Municipal Archive, Atlas van Stolk in Rotterdam, and the Royal Library in The Hague—all located in the Netherlands. Gerda Huisman and her colleagues of the University of Groningen Library's Special Collections department earn a special word of thank, because they arranged most of the illustrations, and always very swiftly in cooperation with photographer Dirk Fennema.

The Dutch versions of chapters 2 and 13 were published in respectively the periodicals *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman* and *Leidschrift: Historisch tijdschrift*. I am very glad that their editorial boards enthusiastically approved that English translations would be made for this volume. Arthur der Weduwen translated both Dutch texts with great care and accuracy,

for which I am very grateful. The same recognition goes for Douwe van der Galiën, who assisted me in the preparation of a part of the bibliography. He also reworked the footnotes of several chapters according to the series' stylesheet.

This preface also gives me the opportunity to publicly thank all the colleagues in the field—and the institutions behind them—who organized conferences and workshops on which I could present first drafts of this volume's chapters. Almost the same group of people edited improved versions, making them considerably better by giving fruitful feedback and comments. Their names are mentioned in the introduction, above the first footnotes of the chapters, and in the bibliography. All versions were written in between my educational tasks in the History Department of the University of Groningen. Therefore, in many occasions my students were the first persons hearing my latest research results. I appreciate that they always attentively listened to me when I was talking about my research in corresponding lectures and seminars.

This volume's footnotes also include the names of several persons because of special reasons, such as providing me with specific information, sending me not yet published material, giving me inspiration to certain ideas and suggestions of new topics, or improving the English of my first drafts. I would like to repeat the names of some of them, and also add a few names here, because I owe particular thanks to them. In alphabetical order: Adriaan Duiveman, Raingard Esser, Anna de Haas, Arend Huussen, Hilde Krips-van der Laan, Jelle Krol, Anjana Singh, Will Slauter, Rietje van Vliet, and Megan Williams. Finally, I would like to thank Bote Smid for his everlasting commitment, always prepared to share my research experiences and to read draft versions of my work. This is the reason why this book is dedicated to him.

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Introduction

Since the beginning of this century I have focused much of my research on the early news industry in relation to politics and society, particularly from the Dutch perspective. I entered this field of research coincidentally. Dealing with an early eighteenth-century topic and examining contemporary sources, I hit upon a source that caught my attention: the *Europische Mercurius* (European Mercury), a Dutch news digest that was published bi-annually between 1690 and 1756, first in Amsterdam and in its final stages in The Hague. Around 2000 this source was available only in a few libraries and archives and did not appear to have been used extensively for a long time.¹ Fascinated by its character and contents, I could not help reading this digest, which directed my attention to the events of the period involved and, above all, to the politics of the European states. Further research in the *Europische Mercurius*, in combination with lecturing tasks, brought me to related sources, in particular newspapers, pamphlets and prints, and also to related topics, such as the supply and speed of early modern news reports, the news value of early advertisements, and the changing formats and layout of early printed news media. Censorship, being already part of my fields of interest, could easily be connected to the world of news. Many early new modern media have been faced with censorship practices.

The present volume includes a selection of my articles that I have written in the field of media history so far. The editors of the series considered the selected articles relevant for an international audience, and as a matter of fact most of them have already proved to be so, as they were welcomed on international fora, and were distributed via scholarly publications in English later on. Two articles—chapters two and thirteen—have been especially translated from Dutch into English for this volume, so that they can reach a wider audience.² Several of the articles in English have previously been published in volumes and periodicals aiming at other themes than early modern media issues, which may have been the reason why they remained relatively unnoticed in the field to which they belong. I hope this volume in the series Library of the Written Word will reach anyone interested in early modern media.

The articles have not been updated, to avoid confusion in citation between this volume and the earlier publication. This means that one has to keep in

¹ Nowadays all the volumes are available on the internet via, e.g., Google Books.

² They were translated by Arthur der Weduwen. See my acknowledgements.

mind the original years of publication while assessing them, as they reflect the state of research. The original place of publication can be found both in the bibliographical references above each chapter's first footnote and in the bibliography. Layout and footnotes, however, have been changed to the series style. This has led to several adaptations, such as the unification of captions, the inclusion of publishers in footnotes where they were absent, and the renumbering of illustrations. Only one article—chapter three in this volume—did not have section headings. These have been added to make the volume consistent in this respect. Another article—chapter eleven in this volume—was published in American English; this spelling was not changed. Some characteristics of the original styles remain visible in this volume. In some chapters quotations or texts in languages other than English are given in their original languages—in the main text or in footnotes—preceded by English translations, others only give English translations. The chapters in this volume are ordered thematically, rather than in the order in which they were originally published. Although this choice has as a disadvantage that progress in my work over the years cannot be easily noticed, it brings at least some coherence in a set of articles dealing with different themes, sources and approaches. The first five chapters are related to the genre of news digests, particularly the *Europische Mercurius*. Chapter one is meant as a general introduction to the genre. Chapters two and three probe the history and content of the *Europische Mercurius*, representing it as being exemplary of the news digest genre. The second chapter is an introduction to this news source and the third chapter is an example of content analysis, a geographical case study concerning the state of Prussia.

Characteristic parts of the *Mercury*'s paratext were the frontispieces and the corresponding rhymes explaining those engravings. In most of my articles, for instance the article that is incorporated in this volume as chapter four, the engravings are still referred to as 'title prints'. Following book and art historians, I substituted 'frontispieces' for this term (see chapter five). I also introduced the term 'news digests' (or 'news periodicals') after several years, a genre that I used to refer to as 'news books' in my first articles concerning this subject. However, 'news book' is a too literal translation of the Dutch word 'nieuwsboek', because 'news book' is mostly used for another genre in the Anglo-Saxon world.³

The sale of news digests, often recommending them because of their engravings, was realized via announcements in newspapers. The part in the fifth chapter in which this is discussed, functions as a bridge to chapter six, in which the

3 See further chapter one about this.

news value of advertisements in early modern Dutch newspapers is examined. Chapter seven also deals with those newspapers. It examines their formats and layouts, analysing their functioning in the world of early modern media. Chapter eight addresses the question of how early modern Dutch newspapers and other news media may have stimulated a sense of Europe among their readers via their content and layout. Chapter nine concerns the supply and speed of news in eighteenth-century Europe, based on quantitative research in two Dutch newspapers.

The subsequent three chapters are chronologically-ordered case studies that elaborate on the supply and delivery of news in the eighteenth century. Two of them deal with disasters, in the Netherlands in the early 1730s (chapter ten) and the other in Portugal in 1755 (chapter twelve). They scrutinise the character of these disasters and the effect they had on the content and spread of the news about and after these disasters. These chapters examine the newspaper reports and how they function, and also include analyses of other news media such as periodicals and pamphlets. This holds true for chapter eleven, in particular. In this chapter Dutch reporting of the peace in Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) in 1748 is used to clarify the dissemination of the news of the time. This chapter's aim is to explore how news items published in newspapers were recycled and partially remediated in news digests, and how they were mixed with other news sources. Furthermore, it investigates how the news digest were used in contemporary historiography.

Wars were, like disasters, very profitable for the expanding early modern news industry, since they generated many reports, as well as accompanying maps and other illustrations, which were often published in news media titles. Chapter thirteen reflects upon this part of the story. In times of wars as well as of peace, the early modern authorities in Europe were eager to know how news was going to be published, as they wished to influence public opinion to their own benefit. This led to censorship and requests for action directed to other countries in which allegedly negative reports had been published. Since the Dutch Republic had a relatively tolerant attitude to the printing press, other European countries often expressed their indignation about Dutch publishers. Requests for information received from other countries are the topic of chapter fourteen. The last chapter in this volume addresses aspects of influencing domestic Dutch public opinion in the 1780s, focused, in this case, on the use of historical images and phrases in several media.

Almost all chapters in this volume were engendered in specific contexts, chiefly for conferences or workshops on a fixed theme. Consequently some chapters are overlapping each other as they had to be clear-cut in their own context in their first publication channels. It is well to be aware of the original

contexts while reading this volume, as they explain certain choices, directions and approaches. Now that the chapters have been disconnected from their original environment the following résumé provides brief summaries of those contexts to enable a better understanding.

Chapter one, about the genre of news digests, was first presented as a paper on the conference 'Pedlars, Pamphlets and the Popular Press (1600–1850)', organized by Karen Bowen, Roeland Harms and Jeroen Salman in the city of Utrecht (the Netherlands) in 2010.⁴ They offered me the opportunity to reflect on the genre of news digests in an interdisciplinary environment.⁵ In the volume resulting from the conference my paper was included in the corresponding section on "dissemination, and the connective, transnational aspects of distribution and its cultural consequences."⁶ Since this conference was focused on the consequences of the distribution of popular print I addressed, among other aspects, the audiences of serialized news digests, emphasizing their meaning as tools for political decision-making and collective memory.

For the moment the background of the publication of chapter two will be left aside; it will be discussed at the end of this résumé. The text of chapter three started as a paper on a conference in Potsdam (Germany) in 2000, which took the third centennial of the first Prussian king's coronation in 1701 as an opportunity to study the image of Prussia and Germany across the three centuries involved.⁷ This topic simply explains the geographical orientation of the chapter. I tried to contribute to the conference theme and its related publication by explaining the various kinds of new items that were published on Prussia in the Dutch Republic in the first half of the eighteenth century. In this way I could

4 This conference was held on 15–16 January 2010. Roeland Harms and Jeroen Salman invited Joad Raymond to become co-editor of the volume that was realized in 2013, and that would be oriented on England and Wales, Italy and the Low Countries.

5 A variant of my paper was tested in the same year as part of the session 'Media and Societies in Europe since the 17th Century', organised by Joris van Eijnatten for the Eight European Social Science History Conference, Session, held in Ghent (Belgium) on 13–16 April 2010.

6 See further Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond and Jeroen Salman, 'Introduction: The Distribution and Dissemination of Popular Print', in idem (eds.), *Not Dead Things: The Dissemination of Popular Print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500–1820* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 1–29 (quote at 23). In the volume this part is called "The Dissemination of News, Politics, Religion and Entertainment".

7 The conference, held on 26–27 October 2000, was called 'Preussen, Deutschland und Europa 1701–2001'. It was organised by the Instituut voor Noord- en Oosteuropese Studies (INOS) in Groningen, the Konrad-Adenauer Stiftung and the University of Potsdam's 'Lehrstuhl für deutsche Landesgeschichte mit Schwerpunkt Brandenburg-Preussen'. See also Jürgen Luh's conference report on H-Net, <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=28433> (consulted 26 November 2017).

elucidate the images of Prussia that Dutch readers must have been able to construct out of news summaries, which were much focused on the Prussian kings of the period.⁸

Chapter four, dealing with politics in frontispieces, was first discussed in an international workshop organized by Martin Gosman and myself in Groningen (the Netherlands) in 2005. It thematised the ways early modern authorities legitimated their power and conveyed their own superiority on the one hand, and the extent to which criticism was uttered and other opinions were put forward on the other.⁹ My paper, which examined the political content of several *Europische Mercurius*' frontispieces and explained their allegorical elements, aimed at contributing to this theme by researching how engravings representing news events might have influenced opinions.¹⁰

Chapter five emerged from the conference 'Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe: Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption', which was organized by Daniel Bellingradt and Jeroen Salman in Gotha (Germany) in 2014.¹¹ The organizers looked for new directions in book history, in particular by incorporating the concepts of materiality, spatiality and sociality in the well-known

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- 8 In those years I also made such area analyses from the news reports in the *Europische Mercurius* about Scandinavia and Russia for two conferences (both without proceedings; the paper about Russia can be consulted via https://www.rug.nl/research/portal/files/51414002/From_Beasts_into_Men.pdf), and in cooperation with Cedric Regtop I wrote a Dutch article about the Barbary Coast: "Zeeschuimers en verachtelijke Barbaaren?" *Nederlandse nieuwsfragmenten over Barbarije in de achttiende eeuw*, *Tijdschrift voor Zeegeschiedenis*, 21 (2002), pp. 34–48. I also wrote a Dutch article about the Holy See: 'Vaticaan "watchers" in de 18de eeuw: Nederlandse berichtgeving over de pauswisselingen tussen 1700 en 1740', *Spiegel Historiael*, 36/6 (2001), pp. 238–245 and 274. A few years ago I also investigated the image of a person in Dutch eighteenth-century news media, the Frisian princess and regent Maria Louise of Hesse-Kassel: 'Maria Louise in het Nederlandse nieuws (1709–1765)', *It Beaken: Tydskrift fan de Fryske Akademy*, 77/3–4 (2015), pp. 139–164.
 - 9 This workshop's title was 'Selling and Rejecting Politics in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)'; it was held on 10–11 November 2005, and funded by the Groningen Research Institute for the Study of Culture (ICOG).
 - 10 Two preceding Dutch articles about other sets of *Europische Mercurius*' frontispieces that I published were: 'Nieuwsprenten in de *Europische Mercurius* van 1730–1733', *Tijdschrift voor Mediageschiedenis*, 6 (2003), pp. 5–27, and 'Jan Goeree en zijn ontbrekende titelgedichten in de *Europische Mercurius* (1713, 1718, 1719 en 1727)', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 26/2 (2003), pp. 73–90. The last is related to this volume's chapter five.
 - 11 The conference was held on 28–31 May 2014. See also the conference reports written by Jan Hilgaertner and Talitha Verheij published on the website H/Soz/Kult, <https://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-5551> and by André Bochynski on the Book History and Print Culture Network's website, <https://bookhistorynetwork.wordpress.com/2014/08/05/bookinmotion-report/> (both consulted 26 November 2017).

model of Robert Darnton, which is based on the concepts of production, circulation and consumption.¹² Since many news digests are voluminous books, I seized the opportunity to research the production of illustrations in this genre (materiality) as a process taking place in the social spaces of publishers, artists and editors (aspects of spatiality and sociality)—using again the *Europische Mercurius* as a case. I also tried to integrate traces of the genre's circulation and its consumers, such as announcements of the digests in newspapers.

The paper preceding chapter six, about the news value of early modern Dutch newspapers, was prepared for a workshop in Bremen (Germany) in 2014.¹³ I was one of the scholars invited by the organizers, Bernd Klessmann (Cologne), Patrick Schmidt (Rostock) and Christiane Vogel (Vechta), to reflect on the question of how early modern newspapers can be used as sources for historical research, in a time when many copies of these papers are becoming digitally available. As I had just finished a Dutch article in which I had emphasised the regional news value of advertisements in eighteenth-century newspapers of the northern part of the Dutch Republic, I responded to their request by including analyses of seventeenth-century Dutch advertisements, thus broadening this field of research.¹⁴ Until that time, I had stated that early modern Dutch newspapers mostly include news from other European countries than the Netherlands itself. Although this appears to be correct for the news columns—more precise research is still welcome—, this view has to be reconsidered when we take the papers' advertisements into account, since they include much information about local, regional and national affairs.¹⁵

12 See further about these concepts Bellingrad and Salman's introductory chapter 'Books and Book History in Motion: Materiality, Sociality and Spatiality' in the volume that was given the same title as the conference's (pp. 1–11). They invited Paul Nelles to become their co-editor.

13 The workshop, called 'Jenseits der Mediengeschichte: Zeitungen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts als Quellen für die historische Forschung', was held in the Bremer Presse-Club on 23–24 May 2014, in cooperation with the Gesellschaft für Deutsche Presseforschung. See also Simon Sax's conference report published on the website H/Soz/Kult, <https://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-5733>.

14 Joop W. Koopmans, 'Vroegmoderne kranten en regionaal besef in het noorden van de Republiek, circa 1740–1800', to be published in Dick E.H. de Boer and Job A. Weststrate (eds.), *Tussen streek en staat: Identiteit, beeldvorming en functioneren van regio's aan de rand van Nederland rond 1800*. A pdf of this article is available via [https://www.rug.nl/research/portal/en/publications/vroegmoderne-kranten-en-regionaal-besef-in-het-noorden-van-de-republiek-circa-17401800\(096020f9-4e12-4d71-9b21-c4a005d668d\).html](https://www.rug.nl/research/portal/en/publications/vroegmoderne-kranten-en-regionaal-besef-in-het-noorden-van-de-republiek-circa-17401800(096020f9-4e12-4d71-9b21-c4a005d668d).html).

15 My article was published in the volume's part called 'Zeitungsanzeigen als Quellen der Kultur- und Alltagsgeschichte' (Newspaper Advertisements as Sources for Cultural and Daily Life History).

The idea for chapter seven was elaborated when Megan Williams planned a conference in Groningen in 2016 focusing on the theme of ‘The Politics of Paper in the Early Modern World’. One of the questions in Williams’s call for papers was: “How did paper influence forms, functions, and practices of transmitting the news, or of news-cultures?”¹⁶ This question inspired me to find out when Dutch newspapers had started to use the margins of their newspapers for printing extra news items or advertisements, thus using the paper—as material—as efficiently as possible. My paper could be positioned in a panel appropriately called ‘Information Management on the Paper Page’. The research for this chapter—and many other chapters in this volume—would have been far more time-consuming without Delpher.nl, the digitized collection of Dutch newspapers, archiving thousands of copies of early modern newspapers. However, I still had to visit several libraries and archives for the consultation of relevant copies of Dutch newspapers that had not yet been digitized in 2016–2017.

The final event of the transnational project ‘News Networks in Early Modern Europe’, the 2013 conference ‘News and the Shape of Europe, 1500–1750’ in London, was a good opportunity to research the presence of Europe as a continent in early Dutch news media.¹⁷ The resulting article, chapter eight in this volume, was first published in the project’s monumental publication edited by Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham. I suppose that within the context of that volume the intentions of my article are clear, but they should also be obvious without this context. The article treats Europe as a continent, not as a kind of predecessor of the European Union. It should be understood not from the teleological perspective of a post-war Europe working towards cooperation and unity, but from the perspective of a continent with widely differing countries. It deals with early modern Europe, consisting of dynastic states fighting many wars, not with a Europe of the nation-states that were the outcomes of modern nationalism arising in the nineteenth century.

The first version of chapter nine, concerning news provision and the speed of news distribution to the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic audience, was presented during the workshop ‘News and Politics in Early Modern Europe

16 See the conference’s website <http://www.paperprinces.org/call-for-papers.html> (consulted 26 November 2017).

17 The conference took place on 26–28 July 2013. More information about this project can be found on its website <http://newscom.english.qmul.ac.uk/about/index.html> (consulted 25 November 2017) and in Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham’s introductory chapter ‘News Networks in Early Modern Europe’ in their volume *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 1–16.

(1500–1800)', which I organized in Groningen in 2003.¹⁸ This workshop and the ensuing edition of the corresponding volume broadened my horizon, bringing new research questions and new contacts in the field of media studies. Many conferences with similar themes would follow in the years to come, as this introduction demonstrates. The 2005 volume did not include a thoroughly elaborate theoretical framework as it included a set of widely diverging articles elucidating a great variety of relations between early modern authorities and the media. In my own article I discussed, among other aspects, the effects on people's attitudes of long time lapses between events and the dissemination of the news regarding those events.

Chapter ten, about the 1730s shipworm tragedy, was first presented in the workshop 'Resilience in Disastrous Times: The Processing of Historical Catastrophes in the Low Countries (c. 1600–1850)', organized by Raingard Esser and Marijke Meijer Drees in Groningen in 2015.¹⁹ Since this workshop was set up within the framework of the University of Groningen's research theme Sustainable Society, I considered it as my task to formulate the main research question in this direction. It was a good opportunity to explore the question how early modern Dutch news media reacted to catastrophes. The article was published in a special issue of *Dutch Crossing* titled 'Coping with Crisis'.²⁰ Fortunately, my contribution did not overlap with Adam Sundberg's article that was dealing with the same crisis, as he addressed the perceived novelty of the disaster and the challenges for water management.²¹

Chapter eleven is one of the results of the conference 'Managing the News in Early Modern Europe', organised in Amsterdam in 2014 by Michiel van Groesen and Helmer Helmers.²² They succeeded in bringing the conference to *Media History*, in which the topic of early modern European reactions to the overload of information resulting from the printing press is discussed from several angles.²³ During the conference I not only investigated news reports in Dutch media concerning the 1748 peace ending the War of the Austrian Succession,

18 This workshop, held on 16–17 October 2003, was also funded by the Groningen Research Institute for the Study of Culture (ICOG).

19 The workshop's date was 19 June 2015. It was a bilingual event; my paper was in Dutch, titled 'Nederlandse media over de paalwormramp, 1731–1733'.

20 See further: Raingard Esser and Marijke Meijer Drees, 'Coping with Crisis: an Introduction', *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Countries Studies*, 40/2 (2016), pp. 93–96.

21 Adam Sundberg, 'An Uncommon Threat: Shipworms as a Novel Disaster', *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Countries Studies*, 40/2 (2016), pp. 122–138.

22 The conference's dates were 18–19 June 2014.

23 See further Van Groesen and Helmers' introduction to the special issue of *Media History*, 'Managing the News in Early Modern Europe, 1550–1800', pp. 261–266.

but also those about the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). Chapter twelve, an example of research into the functioning of early modern news dissemination, was the outcome of a paper presented on the conference 'News in Early Modern Europe', organized by Simon Davies and Puck Fletcher in Brighton (United Kingdom) in 2012.²⁴ The idea for my contribution evolved from two earlier publications. In the previous year I had written a sequence to my 2005 article about the supply and speed of news to the Dutch Republic at the request of the editorial board of the annual *Historisch Jaarboek Groningen*. When I was elucidating this topic with the help of news reports from a few Dutch newspapers about the Lisbon earthquake in 1755, I discovered that it had potential beyond the scope of the Dutch article that I was preparing.²⁵ The other publication was a volume published by Brendan Dooley in 2010, which included a set of articles circling around the intriguing concept of contemporaneity.²⁶ I took the opportunity to connect the spread of the Lisbon news to the Netherlands with this concept. The volume edited by Davies and Fletcher particularly addressed the early modern news trade.²⁷

The Dutch version of chapter thirteen, dealing with early modern war news, was written on request of the editorial board of the Leiden historical magazine *Leidschrift*. In 2007 they wished to present a special issue on European wars between 1789 and 1919, the 2008–2009 exam topic in Dutch secondary schools, concerning the.²⁸ Although I was allowed a broader time frame, I tried to come as close as possible to the exam topic's period, ending my exemplifying case study with a discussion of the start of the Dutch Republic's last war, also known as the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780–1784).²⁹

Chapter fourteen, concerning criticism on Dutch press products from other European countries, has its origin in Hanno Brand's conference 'Trade, Diplo-

24 The conference was hosted by the Centre for Early Modern Studies at the University of Sussex on 6–7 June 2012.

25 Joop W. Koopmans, 'Groningen en het tempo van internationaal nieuws: Een vergelijking van kranten uit de 18e eeuw, toegespitst op berichten over de aardbeving en tsunami van Lissabon (1755)', in Maarten Duijvendak etc. (eds.), *Historisch jaarboek Groningen* (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2011), pp. 36–51.

26 Brendan Dooley (ed.), *Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2010). See for his definition of the concept my chapter twelve below.

27 See also Simon Davies and Puck Fletcher's introduction to their volume *News in Early Modern Europe: Currents and Connections* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), pp. 1–15.

28 The Dutch title of this topic and issue was 'Ten Oorlog! Europese oorlogen 1789–1919'.

29 After publication the article could be presented as a lecture on a refresher course for secondary school teachers organised by the Leiden University Graduate School of Teaching (ICLON) on 5 October 2007.

macy and Cultural Exchange in the North Sea and Baltic Region, c. 1350–1750', which was organized in Groningen in 2003.³⁰ Since this conference and its proceedings were focused on the countries around the North Sea and the Baltic, I felt obliged to concentrate my paper more on censorship requests from England, Scandinavia, Russia and Prussia than on those from the rest of the Holy Roman Empire, France and Spain. In a Dutch article on the same topic, in this case restricted to the eighteenth century, I modified this geographical orientation and explained that during the aforementioned century the Dutch Republic received most of its censorship requests from France.³¹

Chapter fifteen also had its beginnings outside the field of media historians. It was written as part of the project 'Authority and Persuasion: the Role of Commonplaces in Western Europe (c. 1450–c. 1800)', an interdisciplinary project initiated by Martin Gosman, and implemented by six colleagues from three universities: from Copenhagen (Denmark) Mette Bruun and Nils Holger Peterson, from Durham (United Kingdom) Kathryn Banks and David Cowling and from Groningen Philiep Bossier and myself. The project resulted in three workshops and three chronologically ordered volumes, the third of which included my contribution as it dealt with the late eighteenth century.³² The project interpreted the term 'commonplaces' very broadly, by referring not only to the quotations in the so-called commonplace-books, but also by defining them as references to much used phrases and images in the process of persua-

30 The conference was held on 28–29 March 2003, as part of Hanno Brand's post-doc project 'Changing Relations: An Analysis of the Process of Political and Economic Change and its Effects on the Relation between the Northern Netherlands and the German Hansa (c. 1474–1550)' and the Hanze Studie Centrum Groningen, which was in its foundation stage at the time. My article was included in the volume's section 'Traces of a Common Culture: Political Relations and Cultural Exchange'. See further Dick E.H. de Boer's introduction to the volume: 'Introduction: Revealing or Unveiling the Past', in Hanno Brand (ed.), *Trade, Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange in the North Sea and the Baltic c. 1350–1750* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2005), pp. 7–11.

31 See further my Dutch article 'Om de lieve vrede? Buitenlandse invloeden op de Nederlandse censuur in de achttiende eeuw', in *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 11 (2004), pp. 83–97.

32 The third workshop, in which my contribution was discussed, was called 'Legitimation of Authority', also becoming the third volume's subtitle. The workshop was held in Groningen on 17–19 September 2008. The covering title of the three volumes (all published by Peeters in Leuven in 2011) is *Commonplace Culture in Western Europe in the Early Modern Period*. Volume 1, subtitled *Reformation, Counter-Reformation and Revolt*, was edited by David Cowling and Mette B. Bruun; volume 2, subtitled *Consolidation of God-given Power* was edited by Kathryn Banks and Philiep G. Bossier, and volume 3 was edited by Nils Holger Peterson and myself. Concerning the concept and development of commonplaces, see also the three introductions to these volumes and the introductory article of Ann Moss in the first volume.

sion in all kinds of other texts and artistic forms, including music. I explored the topic via the genres of the political document (in this case a text concerning censorship), the pamphlet and the political poem, and demonstrated the use and reinforcement of memories of the sixteenth-century Dutch Revolt during the political struggle between the Patriots and Orangists in the Dutch Republic of the 1780s.

In this volume chapter 2, which concerns the history and content of the *Europische Mercurius*, is the only one that does not originate from a conference, workshop or thematic issue of a periodical. Its Dutch version was accepted by a Dutch periodical that deals with literary and cultural topics of the long eighteenth century and the Enlightenment: *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*. The foundation behind this title was established with the goal to advance research on the life and work of the eighteenth-century Dutch writer Jacob Campo Weyerman (1677–1747) as well as on all kinds of other eighteenth-century cultural topics.³³ Apart from the publication of the periodical, this has also led to many other publications dealing with eighteenth-century journals, newspapers, periodicals and pamphlets, many of which proved inspiring and fruitful for my research. It is with good cause, therefore, that I end this résumé by referring to this scholarly environment in which I could put several parts of my work to the test.³⁴

Over the years my research has moved in new directions as a result of expanding possibilities and the interaction with an increasing number of scholars in the field, only a few of which have been mentioned in this introduction. Research could be broadened, for example, as a result of the ongoing digitisation of many news sources, mentioned above, and the publication of new tools, such as Arthur der Weduwen's recently published splendid and enormously extensive bibliography of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish newspapers.³⁵ As I am already working on new publications, such as a chapter for a book that commemorates 400 years of Dutch printed newspapers in 2018, I can only hope that this volume will be nothing more than an interim report.

33 See the foundation's website for its goal and publications: <http://www.weyerman.nl/about/algemeen/> (consulted on 27 November 2017).

34 A few relevant publications for the field of media studies from this foundation are: Anna de Haas with Peter Altena (eds.), *Achter slot en grendel: Schrijvers in Nederlandse gevangenschap (1700–1800)* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2002); Cis van Heertum, Ton Jongenelen and Frank van Lamoën (eds.), *De andere achttiende eeuw: Opstellen voor André Hanou* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2006) and Pieter van Wissing (ed.), *Stookschriften: Pers en politiek tussen 1780 en 1800* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2008).

35 Arthur der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers of the Seventeenth Century, 1618–1700*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

Storehouses of News: the Meaning of Early Modern News Periodicals in Western Europe*

Over the course of the early-modern era, several new categories of printed news media appeared, such as news reports, pamphlets, newspapers and also engravings incorporating references to recent happenings. A specific category in the expanded early-modern dissemination of news was the periodical with news summaries that appeared on a regular basis; it was a printed work with a publication frequency ranging from about once a month to once every one or two years, far less frequent than newspapers, which had at least one or a few editions per week. By the end of the 16th century literate people could already buy and read printed news periodicals in several parts of Europe, of which the so-called German *Messrelationen* and the Latin *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* are a few early examples. In the subsequent centuries these surveys would have many successors in mainly Western Europe.

Their initial purpose of news dissemination having been achieved, the early-modern news periodicals became a welcome source for historians. Scholars consulted them frequently as reference works, looking for certain facts and figures or old documents, the originals of which were kept in faraway or inaccessible archives. However, they did not start systematically studying the serial news periodicals as a specific medium with its own characteristics as they did with the early-modern newspapers in the 19th century—at least not in a comparative way with international dimensions. This lack of interest in early-modern news periodicals has continued more or less to the present day. News digests seem to have fallen between the cracks. On the one hand they were not considered a very exciting phenomenon by the media historians who advanced a discourse of increasing communication speed with regard to the new media.¹ In such a narrative early-modern newspapers and pamphlets were far easier to locate than infrequently published news periodicals. On the other hand news

* This chapter was earlier published in Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond and Jeroen Salman (eds.), *Not Dead Things: The Dissemination of Popular Print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500–1820* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 253–273. I wish to thank my colleague Megan Williams for her stimulating suggestions.

1 See, e.g., Asa Briggs and Peter Burke, *A Social History of the Media: From Gutenberg to the Internet* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press, 2005).

periodicals were not very interesting for historiographers either, because the genre could not compete with well-wrought contemporary chronicles, which usually had far more professional content. To put it colloquially, in that narrative news periodicals would have been neither fish, nor flesh, nor good red herring.

The resulting lack of knowledge about early-modern news periodicals becomes clear in current historiography, in which news periodicals are not mentioned at all or are incorrectly described. For example, in the recent synthetic study of Dutch culture in European perspective, *1650: Hard-Won Unity* [1650: *Bevochten eendracht*] the authors quote the 17th-century Dutch news annual *Hollandsche Mercurius* several times to explain and illustrate a variety of developments and changes. Although this title was a yearbook with far more pages than a newspaper, they incorrectly label it a monthly newssheet while also counting it among the newspapers.²

In this paper, I will attempt to rescue early-modern news periodicals from oblivion, presenting them as a separate medium with distinct characteristics, and to start a discussion about their contemporary significance. It is my intention to deal with several questions about this category's characteristics, in order to get a better impression of its role. How did news periodicals function within the range of early-modern media? What intentions did their makers have in mind when they started publishing them? How did they produce and distribute them, and what, additionally, may be said about their audience? Furthermore, what connections, similarities and differences can be discovered between early-modern news periodicals from several European countries?

The paper begins with a concise section about the genre's name: should we speak about newsbooks, mercuries, periodicals, magazines or (bi)annuals? The next section includes a few striking examples of early-modern news periodicals, in order to get a better idea of the genre's evolution and spread across Western Europe since the 16th century. The final section deals with the purpose and role of the news periodicals, in combination with their content, production and audience. Can we consider them as products of the popular press? Some of the news periodicals also presented sensational or satirical stories, while other titles included scientific news, or, as in the case of the *Mercur de France* that was launched in 1672, literary and fashion topics.³ This paper will not discuss

2 Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, *1650: Hard-won Unity* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2004), pp. 17, 69, 261, 429.

3 The female-orientated *Mercur de France* started under the titles *Mercur Galant* and *Nouveau Mercur Galant* and was founded by the French author Jean Donneau de Visé. See, e.g., the second and third chapters of Joan DeJean, *The Essence of Style: How the French Invented*

those categories, only the periodicals with an emphasis on reporting political, military and societal news that was presented in systematic prose.

1 The Genre's Name

Thus far I have referred to the genre as 'news periodicals' or 'news digests'. There is, however, much confusion about the genre's name. In Dutch historical literature the word *nieuwsboek* is sometimes used to specify the genre. This word indicates the category of early-modern printed news collections well, because those collections had the same form as the printed material which we nowadays consider to be books. While editions of early-modern newspapers were usually just one or a few loose folio sheets, most of the less frequently published news surveys consisted of dozens or hundreds of pages, most of them in quarto, with well-structured contents, indices and sometimes appendices.

Nonetheless, the designation 'mercuries' has hitherto been more common in historiography.⁴ This can be explained by the fact that many issues carried the name Mercury or Mercurius—the messenger of the Roman gods—in their titles. The term 'mercuries,' however, is an unclear genre indication, because many newspapers also had the name Mercury in their titles, as for example John Berkenhead's royalist *Mercurius Aulicus* that originated during the Civil Wars in Britain, or Anders Bording's Danish monthly newspaper *Den Danske Mercurius* (1666–1677), which was written in Alexandrine verse.⁵ Therefore *mercuur* is not to be preferred to the term *nieuwsboek*.

For British scholars, however, the term 'newsbook' might be confusing, because it has another or broader meaning. Traditionally the term is applied to 17th-century quarto-format newspapers which were published at least once a week.⁶ The English scholar Robert Burton, for example, used the term in his *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, in which he wrote in 1622 of 'News books every

Fashion, Fine Food, Chic Cafés, Style, Sophistication, and Glamour (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005); Jean Sgard (ed.), *Dictionnaire des Journaux*, vol. 2 (Paris: Universitas, 1991), pp. 846–849, 854–856.

4 See, e.g., Rietje van Vliet, "‘Hij is als een tweede Proteus die alderhande gedaenten aenneemt’: Kranten en mercuriale geschriften in de 17de en het begin van de 18de eeuw", *Proteus: Bulletin van de Vereniging voor Leidse renaissancisten*, 8 (1992), pp. 1–9.

5 See the reissue Paul Ries (ed.), *Den Danske Mercurius* (Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzels Forlag, 1984).

6 Revealing are, e.g., Joad Raymond's title *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641–1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), and Julia Schleck's one "‘Fair and Balanced’ News from the Continent: English Newsbook Readers and the Thirty Years War", *Prose Studies*, 29 (2007), pp. 323–335.

day, pamphlets, corantos, [and] stories,' all culturally rich terms, of which contemporaries will have understood the distinctions.⁷ Within this context the 'newsbooks' were definitively not the same as the monthlies or (bi)annuals discussed in this paper. Perhaps it would be better to consider those newsbooks as 'serialized pamphlets,' since they had the same format as many pamphlets. In any event, for international use the terms 'news periodical' and 'news digest' may be preferable to 'newsbook,' moreover because not only the words but also the objects varied from culture to culture.

Nor has the term 'periodical' gone unquestioned. In his study on the French press during the Enlightenment, Jack Censer defines the periodical as 'a printed publication available on announced dates, at least once a trimester, designed to serve a broad, at least regional, reading public'. Furthermore the periodical should include something that the audience would have seen as 'current news'. Otherwise, it would be 'a volume in a series'.⁸ Although the latter criterion does not pose a real problem for the category discussed here, the former does, in that many news digests were published less frequently than once a trimester. Furthermore, announced dates were not realized in many cases for a variety of reasons such as illnesses of publishers or editors, and censorship or other restrictive measures taken by authorities. Several editors even delayed their publications deliberately, believing that such a timespan between event and description promoted comprehensiveness and professional distance. The editor of the Dutch *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, for instance, announced this notion in the introduction to his first volume in 1766.

To overcome Censer's definition problem for the category here involved, another possibility in discussing news media with a publishing frequency lower than once a trimester might be to speak about 'news series' or 'news volumes.' Yet we can also ignore Censer's frequency criterion and consider all such recurrent publications, with news—regardless of the publishing interval—as 'news periodicals,' which I will do in this paper.

7 Quoted in Elisabetta Cecconi, 'Comparing Seventeenth-Century News Broadides and Occasional News Pamphlets: Interrelatedness in News Reporting', in Andreas H. Junker (ed.), *Early Modern English News Discourse* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2009), pp. 137–157, at p. 137.

8 Jack R. Censer, *The French Press in the Age of Enlightenment* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 1. There are other definitions and approaches, of course. Raymond (*The Invention of the Newspaper*, p. 7), e.g., uses the word 'news periodicals' for irregular appearing titles, such as Abraham Verhoeven's *Nieuwe Tydinghe* from Antwerp in the Spanish Netherlands.

2 From Messrelationen to Mercuries and Yearbooks

The German *Messrelationen* are considered the first printed periodicals with news items on the European continent. They commenced during the 1580s, appeared predominantly at the trade fairs of Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig, and contained news items—copied from written newsletters—and documents about the most important events since the previous trade fair. The founding father of the German *Messrelationen* was Michael Freiherr von Aitzing. For the autumn 1583 Frankfurt Trade Fair he published the *Relatio historica*,⁹ with news in German about religious conflicts. After a few irregular issues he published one or two numbers each year from 1588 until his death in 1598, in later years covering news across Europe. In the meantime similar titles appeared, not only in Frankfurt but also in other German cities such as Strasbourg and Cologne.¹⁰ In 1597 Samuel Dilbaum's *Historische Erzählung* seemed to be a next step in presenting news on a regular basis, because it was a monthly publication.¹¹ Yet Dilbaum published only twelve issues in Rorschach am Bodensee. By contrast, many *Messrelationen* enjoyed a long life, which may be confirmed by the fact that the Frankfurt series remained in print as late as 1806. This also shows that the printed newspapers, of which the first was launched in 1605, did not oust them from circulation.¹² A reason for this might be that the *Messrelationen* were perceived to explain the news in a more coherent way than newspapermen could, because newspapers could present the news only in small portions, and rarely knew the outcome.¹³

9 Many *Messrelationen*'s titles were in Latin, albeit with German explanations about the content on the title pages.

10 Klaus Bender, 'Die deutschen Meßrelationen von ihren Anfängen bis zum Ende des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', in *Presse und Geschichte*, vol. 2, Elger Blühm and Hartwich Gebhardt (eds.), *Neue Beiträge zur historischen Kommunikationsforschung* (Munich etc.: K.G. Saur, 1987), pp. 61–70; idem, *Relationes Historicae: Ein Bestandsverzeichnis der deutschen Meßrelationen von 1583 bis 1648* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), pp. vii–viii.

11 Andreas Würzler, *Medien in der frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2009), pp. 34, 104.

12 On the first printed newspaper in Europe, in Strasbourg, see Martin Welke, 'Johan Carolus und der Beginn der periodischen Tagespresse: Versuch, einen Irrweg der Forschung zu korrigieren', in idem and Jürgen Wilke (eds.), *400 Jahre Zeitung: Die Entwicklung der Tagespresse im internationalen Kontext* (Bremen: edition lumière, 2008), pp. 9–116. The first irregular printed news periodical in France was *Le Mercure français* (1613–1648). Sgard, *Dictionnaire des Journaux*, pp. 867–869.

13 Bender, *Relationes Historicae*, viii–xi.

Among Von Aitzing's contemporaries was the Dutch Catholic author Michael von Isselt. Living in exile in Cologne, he started his *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* in 1592, a periodical that he and a few successors would publish throughout the first decades of the 17th century. The most salient difference from the *Messrelationen* was that the *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* was published in Latin—just as the *Mercurius Austro-Bohemo-Germanicus* of the German Michael Caspar Lündorp. We may presume that the authors of these Latin publications wished to have an international audience. In any event, it is known that copies of the *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* arrived in several European corners, even reaching as far as England. The content, however, had a character similar to that of the *Messrelationen*'s, with stories about politics, wars and other topical subjects. A variety of competing periodicals with almost the same title suggest the idea that the *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* was a desirable medium.¹⁴

Like the German *Messrelationen*, however, most of the news digests were written in the vernacular as for example the German *Europäischer Mercurius oder Götter-Both* (1689–1690) and the French *Le Mercure François* (1611–1648) or the *Mercurius Historique et Politique* (1686–1782)—which was, although published in the Dutch Republic, meant for the French market.¹⁵ In England John Philips (1631–1706), John Milton's nephew, initiated the translation of the *Mercurius Historique et Politique* as *The Present State of Europe; or, the Historical and Political Monthly Mercury* (1690–1736).¹⁶ Making translations was another way to introduce the vernacular in the news industry.

14 W.F. de Jonge, 'De Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus 1592–1625: Eene bibliografisch-historische studie', *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde* 3rd series 8 (1894), pp. 71–170; C. John Sommerville, *The News Revolution in England: Cultural Dynamics of Daily Information* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 20, is one of the authors who wrongly mention 1594 as the start of the *Mercurius Gallobelgicus*.

15 In 1749 the States of Holland briefly censored the *Mercurius Historique et Politique*, published in The Hague, because the editor Jean Rousset de Missy had included offensive news about a French minister: *Resolutien van de Staten van Holland ende West-Vriesland* (1702), pp. 518–519 (9 Dec.); W.P.C. Knuttel, *Verboden boeken in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden: Beredeneerde catalogus* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1914), p. 78 (no. 261); Sgard, *Dictionnaire des Journaux*, pp. 870–878. More about Rousset de Missy: Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck and Jerom Vercruysse, *Le métier de journaliste au dix-huitième siècle: Correspondance entre Prosper Marchand, Jean Rousset de Missy et Lambert Ignace Douxfils* (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1993), pp. 8–13.

16 Another translation bore the title *The Present State of Europe; or, The Monthly Account of all Occurrences, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military*. Cf. Albert Pailier, 'Edward Cave et le Gentleman's Magazine (1731–1954)', vol. 1 (PhD thesis, Université Paris Diderot-Paris 7, 1975), p. 40.

The *Europäischer Mercurius oder Götter-Both* did not exist for long because it was censored in Nuremberg, accused of slandering the German scholar Samuel von Pufendorf and his brother.¹⁷ In this respect the *Europäischer Mercurius* was not representative of its genre, because the *Messrelationen* as well as several other news digests existed for decades, or even longer. This information demonstrates that it was an attractive enterprise to publish and distribute them, at least from a commercial point of view.

The first 'storehouse of news' in Dutch was the previously mentioned *Hollandsche Mercurius*. This news digest started in 1651, about three decades after the initial printing of the first Dutch newspapers.¹⁸ The *Hollandsche Mercurius* was published in Haarlem by Pieter Casteleyn (c. 1618–1676), and from 1678 by his younger brother Abraham Casteleyn (c. 1628–1681). After Abraham's demise his wife Margaretha van Bancken († 1692 or 1693) continued the publication until 1691. The Casteleyn family covered European news during a period in which, following the Peace of Westphalia that ended the long Thirty Years' War in the centre of Europe, Dutch attention was directed chiefly at England and France. Significant was the title's increase in pages. While the first volume consisted of 63 pages in quarto, the last had 349—with an average across all volumes of about 200.

In 1660 Pieter Casteleyn supplemented his tenth volume with a sort of conclusion about the life of England's King Charles II,¹⁹ which indicates his interest in the restoration of the Stuart monarchy. Due to the publisher's complaint of illegal reprints, by 1668 the Haarlem city government had provided him with a fifteen-year printing privilege for his annual. This shows his success and implicates that other publishers tried to get a piece of the pie. After Pieter's demise 11,000 reprints of old volumes and 2,200 new copies of probably the newest volume were found in his store, another indication of the *Hollandsche Mercurius'* success.

From 1656, Abraham Casteleyn also published the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* [Sincere Haarlem Newspaper; this title since 1664], one of the Dutch newspapers that would be read far beyond the Dutch borders. We may assume

17 Johannes Weber, *Götter-Both Mercurius: Die Urgeschichte der politischen Zeitschrift in Deutschland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1994), pp. 125–138.

18 The first Dutch printed newspaper probably started in 1618. See Joop W. Koopmans, "Unverschämte und Ärgernis erregende Nachrichten verboten": Politische Einmischung in niederländische Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts', in Welke and Wilke (eds.), *400 Jahre Zeitung*, pp. 123–138, at pp. 124–125.

19 The Dutch title: 'De conclusie van den Hollandtsche Mercurius, bestaende in de wonderlijke avonturen van Carolus II Koningh van Engeland, Vrankrijk, Schotland en Yrlant etc.'

that Abraham derived many of the news summaries in the *Hollandsche Mercurius* from his own newspaper. Both Casteleyns have also used Amsterdam and foreign newspapers for this, most likely in addition to correspondents and occasional news suppliers.²⁰

Between 1673 and 1686 the Amsterdam publishers Henri and Theodore Boom—and from volume nine Theodore's widow—published a French translation of the *Hollandsche Mercurius* under the title *Le Mercure Hollandois*, after they had printed illegal copies of the Dutch version (see Figure 1). Because the Amsterdam publishers became the official sellers of the Dutch original in their city, we may presume that the Casteleyns in Haarlem would have given them permission for the French version.²¹ In most French volumes the Booms included new prefaces, in which they—or their translator(s)—addressed their international and specifically French audience. The octavo format that was chosen for the French edition must have been commercially more viable for the foreign market, perhaps because it was cheaper to transport and easier to bring into France, particularly during wartime. The Booms enriched their translations with new title prints and several other prints. Their thirteen French volumes would cover the happenings of the period 1672–1684.²² The first six years corresponded with the *Guerre d'Hollande* (1672–1678) between the Dutch Republic and France. We may conclude that publishing a French version of the *Hollandsche Mercurius* from 1673 was an attempt to withstand Louis XIV's propaganda machine, in which all war news was coloured in the king's favour.²³ It is revealing that in France at the time the title 'Le Mercure hollandois' was used for a series with subtitles such as 'contenant les avantages que nostre invincible monarque Louis XIV. toujours august a remporte'.²⁴ In any event, it is typical

20 Garrelt Verhoeven and Sytze van der Veen, *De Hollandse Mercurius: Een Haarlems jaarboek uit de zeventiende eeuw* (Haarlem: Bubbe Kuyper Veilingen, 2011), pp. 21–89. Encyclopedic information about the *Hollandsche Mercurius* will also be published in my entry in *Encyclopedie van Nederlandstalige Tijdschriften voor 1850*, Rietje van Vliet etc. (eds.) (forthcoming, see <http://enti815.wordpress.com/> [21 January 2013]).

21 The Casteleyns mention them in their announcements of new *Hollandsche Mercurius* volumes in the Haarlem newspaper. The Booms also published the 1677 and 1678 volumes in German as *Neuer Mercurius, oder Schau-Bühne von Europa*.

22 Pieter van Eeghen (in collaboration with J.Ph. van der Kellen), *Het werk van Jan en Casper Luyken*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: F. Muller & Co., 1905), p. 17; Sgard, *Dictionnaire des Journaux*, p. 882.

23 See for example Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

24 The (first) subtitle of the Dutch version was neutral: 'Contenant les choses les plus remarquable de toute la Terre. Arrivées en l' an 1672. jusqu'à l' an 1673. Et sur tout dans les guerres de France, Angleterre, & Hollande.'



FIGURE 1 Title page of *Le Mercure Hollandois* of 1676, printed in 1678, with Mercury in the clouds and Stadtholder William III on horseback; William's coat of arms belonging to his title of Prince of Orange-Nassau is visible below.

UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN LIBRARY, THE NETHERLANDS (PHOTOGRAPH DIRK FENNEMA, HAREN, THE NETHERLANDS)

that the French translation of the Dutch version stopped after 1686. Perhaps the project was no longer profitable after the war. Furthermore, it was at this time, following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), that French Huguenots fled to the Dutch Republic, where they began to take over a part of the printed information stream directed towards France.

During the subsequent war between the Dutch Republic and France, in 1690, the Amsterdam publisher Timotheus ten Hoorn started the *Europische Mercurius*, first as a quarterly and several years later as a semi-annual (see Figure 2). In his preface the first editor explained that covering news about the wars of the French King Louis XIV against the Dutch Republic was the main reason for the start of his news digest. Although it was not his intention to push the *Hollandsche Mercurius* out of the Dutch market, this is what actually happened, probably not only because of the higher publishing frequency of the *Europische Mercurius* but also because the new title presented far more pages, without using old-fashioned Gothic type. The editor reintroduced the classification of the news in monthly segments as had been practice in Pieter Casteleyn's volumes of the *Hollandsche Mercurius*.²⁵

A partial description of the *Europische Mercurius*' first volume might give more insight in the material. After the four-page preface addressed 'to the reader' (a section that did not appear in subsequent volumes) the editor opened with news under the heading 'January', followed by one superficial paragraph about the European state of affairs. All news reports were presented under geographical headings, an arrangement also common in newspapers. The editor started with more than 16 pages of news from 'England', followed by 21 pages concerning 'Germany', 14 from 'Italy', followed by two from 'Venice', almost five about 'Switzerland', 12 from 'France', two concerning the city of Algiers, also two from 'Turkey', almost three about 'Spain', one from the so-called 'Northern Empires' (Scandinavia), and finally more than five pages about the 'Netherlands'. It will be clear that the number of pages dedicated to a country and the countries' order varied from volume to volume, as a result of the news supply and the editor's preferences.

In almost all sections the reader could find specific documents between the news summaries, immediately visible because they were printed in a smaller font size. The January news from England includes, for example, an eyewitness

25 From 1718 the *Europische Mercurius* had also a section called 'Bijzonderheden' (Curiosities), in which the editor included, e.g., news about disasters, natural phenomena and bizarre occurrences. Joop W. Koopmans, 'De presentatie van het nieuws in de *Europische Mercurius* (1690–1756)', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 23/3 (2000), pp. 117–133.



FIGURE 2 Two pages of the *Europische Mercurius* of 1695; on the left a proclamation of William III of Orange as King of England about the payment of the troops and news about his departure to the Netherlands on 22 June. The illustration on the right shows sketches of two medals in honour of William III, the first from England and the second made in Austria. Above obverse: Britannia in front of an altar with Horace's words 'o serves animae dimidium mea' (save this half of my soul) and 'Britannia supplex 1695' (Britannia praying 1695) and above reverse: 'preluce quator una' (she spreads her light above all four [kingdoms: England, Scotland, France and Ireland]); below obverse: Jupiter with lightning in his hand ('Iovi tonanti': To the lightning Jupiter) and the texts 'Guilelmo III D.G.M. Britanniae regi' (To William III King of Great Britain by the grace of God) and 'vanguinum nemetumque urbes ulciscitur Anglius, disce timere graves nunc Ludovice vices' (the Englishman takes revenge of the Palatinate cities, Louis may expect heavy action) and below reverse: several burning sea cities with the texts 'aspicit accensas, nec tantos sustinet aestus' (He sees them in fire, and cannot bear the heat) and 'vibrata in maritimas Galliae urbes fulmina 1694' (the lightning bolts thrown to the cities of France 1694)

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account about a London pageant in favour of King William and Queen Mary, a merchants' request to the king, and a story about a fight between an English ship and a French privateer. Such documents must have had the function not only to clarify the corresponding news but also to convince the reader that certain facts really had happened or were agreed. In the Algerian section for example, the editor included the articles of a peace treaty between France and Algiers. In most cases the editor presented only documents in Dutch translations. In this month the exception was a papal document, of which the original Latin text was printed in italics first, followed by the Dutch translation.

The last volume of the *Europische Mercurius* was published about 1756, surviving several other Dutch titles that had been launched around 1700, such as *De Nederlandsche (maandelykse) postryder* (c. 1701–1755). A successful successor was the *Maandelykse Nederlandse Mercurius*, which was published monthly between 1756 and 1806.²⁶ A few years earlier a new type of news digest had started: the *Nederlandse Jaarboeken* (1747–1765). This yearbook was almost exclusively focused on domestic news and documents, in a loyal and neutral way. Its successor, the *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaerboeken* (1766–1798), also commenced with publishing the same type of neutral news, faithful to the era's Dutch Stadtholder William v and Orangist regents. A few provisional samples, however, demonstrate that the publishers moved carefully in the direction of the Patriots—the political faction that struggled against the stadtholder and the Orangists during the 1780s—yet without becoming so provocative that they were censored after the Orangist restoration of 1787.²⁷ Both yearbooks confirm the idea of an expanding public sphere during the 18th century.²⁸ Yet they can also be considered as signs that the authorities no longer resisted the publication of news about domestic politics.

Some scholars argue that another new type of periodical replaced traditional Dutch news digests during the second half of the 18th century: the political periodical that included firm political ideals and ideas and far more comment on the news and criticism of the authorities than before, including

26 See Nicole van der Steen, 'De Europische Mercurius en de Maandelykse Nederlandse Mercurius: De evolutie van een periodieke kroniek tot 'de' Mercurius', *Ex tempore*, 15 (1996), pp. 211–235, at pp. 222–235.

27 The *Nieuwe Nederlandse Jaarboeken* ended with news about 1798. See Rietje van Vliet's entries on these yearbooks in *Encyclopedie van Nederlandstalige Tijdschriften voor 1850*, Rietje van Vliet etc. (eds.) (forthcoming).

28 On the Jürgen Habermas debate, e.g., Briggs and Burke, *A Social History of the Media*, pp. 61–87; Jan Bloemendal and Arjan van Dixhoorn, "De scharpheit van een gladde tong": Literaire teksten en publieke opinievorming in de vroegmoderne Nederlanden', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 125 (2010), pp. 3–28.

also many letters from critical readers.²⁹ It is certainly true that during this period the new genre of political magazines, such as the Patriot-affiliated *De Post van den Neder-Rhijn* (1781–1787) and *De Politieke Krayer* (1782–1787), came into being. Yet just as with the emergence of regularly printed newspapers, the existing genre of news periodicals did not disappear—while by contrast Patriot-affiliated magazines were censored following the restoration of 1787.³⁰

In England original long-running news periodicals, such as the *Holland-sche* and *Europische Mercurius*, did not exist before the 18th century. The first comparable titles were published in the 1730s: Edward Cave's Tory-based *Gentleman's Magazine or Trader's Monthly Intelligencer* (1731–1907) and its rival, the *London Magazine or Gentlemen's Monthly Intelligencer* (1732–1785). Cave included, among many other things, unbiased reports about Britain's parliamentary debates. He succeeded in distributing his magazine throughout the whole English-speaking world.³¹ It is interesting to observe that Cave and the *London Magazine's* publishers—it was an initiative of four booksellers—used the word 'magazine' for their periodicals, which was a creative way to demonstrate that they were 'storehouses' or 'repositories' of new information, just like the other news periodicals mentioned here.

Closer to early Dutch news periodicals was the—still existing!—*Annual Register*, as the Scottish author and publisher Robert Chambers pointed out as early as 1864.³² Starting in 1758, its first publishers were James and Robert Dodsley, while the well-known author and politician Edmund Burke was the first anonymous editor. Its original subtitle, 'A view of the History, Politicks and Literature of the Year', announced and explained the content to the potential readers of the *Annual Register* more extensively. This English yearbook started in the middle of the Seven Years' War, and thus during a period in which many topical news items could be covered. It is not surprising that the first volume became in demand, because it contained an extensive report about the origins and development of the ongoing war.³³

29 E.g. Van der Steen, 'De Europische Mercurius', p. 222.

30 See, e.g., P[reet] J.H.M. Theeuwen, *Pieter 't Hoen en De Post van den Neder-Rhijn* (1781–1787): *Een bijdrage tot de kennis van de Nederlandse geschiedenis in het laatste kwart van de achttiende eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002); Pieter van Wissing (ed.), *Stookschriften: Pers en politiek tussen 1780 en 1800* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2008).

31 More on these two magazines and a few forerunners in, e.g., Pailler, *Edward Cave*.

32 See his impression of early-modern news media in his *The Book of Days: A Miscellany of Popular Antiquities*, vol. 1 (London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1864), p. 76.

33 Unfortunately I could not consult Thomas O. McLoughlin, *Edmund Burke and the First Ten Years of the Annual Register 1758–1767* (Salisbury: University of Rhodesia, 1975).

It seems clear that other parts of Europe were rather late in publishing news periodicals. The first Spanish title, for example, was Salvador José Mañer's 1738 *Mercurio Histórico y Político*, a news digest that would exist until 1830. Its content, however, was not original, but a translation and a partial adaptation of the *Mercurie Historique et Politique*, which was published in The Hague at the time by the well-known French-Dutch author Jean Rousset de Missy. Until 1740 Mañer also published a Spanish version of Rousset de Missy's periodical *État politique de l'Europe*.³⁴ Mañer was not unique in translating French-Dutch works, as English—see above—German and Italian translations of the *Mercurie Historique et Politique* had preceded his title.³⁵ We may wonder whether or not Mañer had received permission for his translations from Rousset de Missy. Another interesting question is what more these translations can teach us about the distribution and diffusion of printed news in Europe.

3 Purpose, Meaning, Audience and Editors of News Periodicals

Why, commercial incentives aside, were news periodicals produced and distributed in the early-modern period? Considering their content, the most important aim must have been the coherent and regular presentation and preservation of information about important and interesting topics in Europe—and later also about the rest of the world—for contemporary and later generations. As has been explained, the digests presented facts, figures and related documents about a certain time-period with some explanation and comment.

One can find evidence for the genre's main goal in news periodicals' prefaces. The *Hollandsche Mercurius*, for instance, was meant 'as a tool for the citizens to remember their own times, being a witness of the world's changeability for future generations'.³⁶ This emphasis on news changeability may possibly be compared with the contemporary popularity of still lifes in the Dutch Republic—as a way to capture and preserve a moment within the mutable world. The *Annual Register*'s purpose was—as summarized by Edmund Burke's biographer F.P. Lock—to provide information and entertainment for a middle range of readers, those who without aspiring to "solid erudition" were never-

34 Sytze van der Veen, *Een Spaanse Groninger in Marokko: De levens van Johan Willem Ripperda (1682–1737)* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 2007), pp. 15, 532.

35 The concept of the *Mercurie Historique et Politique* was also copied in Switzerland and Sweden. Würzler, *Medien in der frühen Neuzeit*, pp. 45–46.

36 *Hollandsche Mercurius*, 2 (1652), 'Voor-reden'.

theless desirous of keeping up with the topics of the day'.³⁷ In other words, the *Annual Register* enabled those not centrally involved in politics and news-making to participate in their society's public debates.

The role of news periodicals can be best assessed when we compare them with newspapers. The facts and figures in the news periodicals concerned largely the same topics as had been published in newspapers before. In the news periodicals, however, they were presented in a more interrelated way and with more persuasive authority, or at least with less doubt about their accuracy and veracity than in the newspapers and their forerunners, and in comparison with newspapers, more documents and (parts of) pamphlets were included in the news digests. This was possible for the simple reason that editors of news periodicals had more time to produce their issues than newspapermen had. News periodical editors also had more opportunities to reconstruct the way things had happened and more time to insert commentary. They could neglect news items from newspapers which were later proven false rumours. Moreover, they could combine and select news items from a broader array of sources available at the time when they were editing, such as more newspapers from abroad, and could then weigh their veracity more precisely. For all these reasons the news digests must have enjoyed higher prestige than volatile newspapers.

Furthermore, news periodicals were definitely not disposable articles as newspapers were. Many titles were sold as, or became, bound into books after a few issues, often stored in annual volumes. The average number of pages, mostly in quarto, of the *Messrelationen* was already about 100 and each half-year issue of the Dutch *Europische Mercurius* consisted of at least 300 pages, also in quarto.³⁸ Its bibliophile value is emphasized by the fact that copies of this news digest are still present in many libraries all over the world.³⁹ This is also the case with many other news periodicals, while, by contrast, many early-modern newspaper series are incomplete and difficult to retrieve.

The presence of prints in early-modern news periodicals was another aspect that made them more interesting and valuable than the contemporary newspa-

37 Frederick Peter Lock, *Edmund Burke*, vol. 1, 1730–1784 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 167.

38 Koopmans, 'De presentatie van het nieuws', pp. 118, 122.

39 Outside main libraries in the Netherlands and its neighbouring countries, *Europische Mercurius* copies can also be found in, e.g., the University Library of Michigan and the New York Public Library, the Russian State Archives of Early Acts (thanks to Ingrid Maier), the National Library of South Africa and the Nagasaki Historical Museum. Although it is difficult to find out how and when all those libraries came into possession of their copies, one may assume that in several cases issues were already in the libraries' surroundings during the 18th century.

pers, in which prints were technologically impossible to include, because their production time was too short to allow for this. Consequently, the news items in news periodicals could be illuminated with portraits, city views and plans, maps, battle plans, coins and medals et cetera, thus offering readers a more visual experience of corresponding news items. Many news periodicals opened with fine title prints referring to the following news and some of them also had corresponding explanations in rhyme.⁴⁰

The audience and possible use of news periodicals may also clarify their meaning, with the *Europische Mercurius* again providing a good example. In 1730 its publisher Maria Lijbreghts, the widow of the bookseller Johannes Ratelband, addressed herself to the potential readers of her periodical, which she thought would be 'ministers of state, ambassadors, residents, agents and other high government personnel' and also the merchants of the Dutch Republic.⁴¹ It is rather difficult to demonstrate this with much evidence—perhaps it was the audience the publisher wished to have instead of the real audience⁴²—yet catalogues and other trace evidence from members of the Dutch elite confirm the idea that news periodicals were a desired press product meant for the higher classes. It is known, for example, that the *Europische Mercurius* was stored in the library of the judicial Court of Friesland (Hof van Friesland), and thus in an environment of jurists who were members of the Frisian elite.⁴³ Furthermore, both Dutch politician Nicolaas Witsen and his friend Andries Winus, who lived in Russia at the time of Tsar Peter the Great, possessed copies of the *Europische Mercurius*.⁴⁴ Series of such news periodicals may have been helpful reference

40 See, e.g., Joop W. Koopmans, 'Politics in Title Prints: Examples from the Dutch News Book *Europische Mercurius* (1690–1756)', in Martin Gosman and Joop W. Koopmans (eds.), *Selling and Rejecting Politics in Early Modern Europe* (Leuven, Paris and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2007), pp. 135–149.

41 *Europische Mercurius*, 41/1 (1730), 'De Drukster deeze Aan Haare Landsgenooten' [The printer from this work to her compatriots] (unpaginated).

42 Supposed by Van der Steen, 'De Europische Mercurius', pp. 220–221. She considers this 'propaganda', a way to give the work higher prestige. She thinks that the potential readers were not very erudite people, because all Latin quotes were translated and many topics were extensively explained. This may be true, but I think that many regents and merchants will have welcomed those translations and explanations too. The invocation of regents could, of course, grant a work more authority, in that the reader might assume the editors obtained news from such sources.

43 Today stored in the Frisian Historical and Literary Centre 'Tresoar' in Leeuwarden, the Netherlands.

44 Marion H. Peters, 'From the Study of Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717): his Life with Books and Manuscripts', *Lias: Sources and Documents Relating to the Early Modern History of Ideas*, 21/1 (1994), pp. 21–49; Igor Wladimiroff, 'Andries Winus and Nicolaas Witsen: Tsar Peter's

works for them and for other established people staying in areas where it was difficult to check news from previous years. The published news periodicals could be part of the luggage they brought to other countries, asking relatives or friends living in their native country to send on new issues. This can be perfectly illustrated with a letter from the Dutch Protestant minister Anthonius Scherius who in November 1672 wrote to the Dutch military commander Coenraed Bredembach in the Cape Colony about the war in his country. Scherius wound up with the significant remark that Bredembach could read soon all details in the following [*Hollandsche*] *Mercurius* volume, which he expected would be delivered by various people.⁴⁵

Moreover, news periodicals—and it should be admitted, newspapers as well—have been important sources for foreign princes, courts and authorities to find out what reports about their own countries were published abroad, and what in such reports the prevailing images and judgments about their countries were. In France, for example, Abbé Jean Bignon, who worked for the French Direction de la Librairie, collected issues of the Dutch *Europische Mercurius*. It is very likely that he did this in order to check news about France that was published in the Dutch Republic. After all, the Direction de la Librairie not only organized permissions for publications in France but was responsible for censorship too.⁴⁶ It was such institutions' duty and obligation to prevent or avoid negative publicity about their sovereign, and they had to inform the court when offensive articles had been published abroad.

News digests were also useful for later generations. This can be demonstrated by the fact that even decades later, publishers sold complete series to younger generations or helped customers to find missing issues. In 1710, for instance, the Delft bookseller Johannes Speyers sold complete series of the *Hollandsche Mercurius*, almost twenty years after the last issue had been pub-

Dutch Connection', in Carel Horstmeier etc. (eds.), *Around Peter the Great: Three Centuries Russian-Dutch Relations* (Groningen: Instituut voor Midden- en Oost-Europese Studies, 1997), pp. 5–23, at p. 20. Andries Andriesz Winius, a son of the Dutch merchant Andries Deonysz Winius, was probably born in Russia. He translated Dutch newspapers for the Tsar. Ingrid Maier, 'Zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlandse couranten vertaald voor de tsaar', *Tijdschrift voor Mediageschiedenis*, 12 (2009), pp. 27–49 at pp. 30, 35.

45 This letter is one of the about 38,000 confiscated letters that were taken as loot by privateers and confiscated by the High Court of Admiralty during the wars fought between the Republic and England, now in The National Archives, London (High Court of Admiralty, 30–228, 4 Nov. 1672). I owe this reference to Judith Brouwer who is writing a PhD about the 1672 letters. [She published her dissertation as: *Levenstekens: Gekaapte brieven uit het Rampjaar 1672* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2014).]

46 Isabella H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680–1725*, vol. 1, *Jean Louis de Lorme en zijn copieboek* (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1960), pp. 54, 63–64, 147.

lished.⁴⁷ Of course, for those customers the news periodicals were recent history. In this respect, however, it will be clear that news periodicals could only compete with newspapers at the very moment of their publication, and even then only to a small extent. Nonetheless, we should not forget that today's 'death of distance' was far from realized in the early-modern period, given that the news travelled at the same speed as the available means of transport.⁴⁸ In other words, it took weeks before news from far away could be published in newspapers and news periodicals. A semi-annual news periodical in Western Europe about the first half of the year and ready for sale in August could contain the same June news from the Ottoman Empire as a newspaper carried in August, because in many cases the news from the Ottomans took more than a month to reach its publication destination.⁴⁹ All other news from closer regions in such semi-annual news periodicals was, of course, less topical than the news printed in newspapers issued two to three times a week.

Another similarity between news periodicals and newspapers was that their editors were unknown to most readers, since only the publishers' names were invariably mentioned on the title pages. The editors of the *Messrelationen* still considered themselves anonymous chroniclers. Most did not mention their real names on the title pages, or at most supplied an alias or initials.⁵⁰ This practice did not change in the following centuries in other news periodicals. In the Dutch *Hollandsche Mercurius* volumes, for instance, the audience could read about the person who had compiled and commented on that year's news ('den geen en, die dit Jaer de Penne gevoert heeft'), while on the title pages of the *Europische* only initials were visible.⁵¹ Edward Cave edited his *Gentleman's*

47 See, for example, the advertisements in the *Europische Mercurius* and also advertisements in Dutch newspapers for this news periodical and the *Hollandsche Mercurius*. Thanks to Hannie van Goinga who presented me several advertisements in the Haarlem newspaper *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, for instance those of Speyers from 2 and 23 Jan. 1710. Cf. Lock, *Edmund Burke*, vol. 1, p. 178, who writes about several reprints of early volumes to provide complete sets.

48 The communication speed of radio, television, Internet and the mobile phone inspired the British scholar Frances Cairncross to the concept of the 'death of distance'. See also John J. McCusker, 'The Demise of Distance: The Business Press and the Origins of the Information Revolution in the Early Modern Atlantic World', *American Historical Review*, 110 (2005), pp. 295–321, at p. 296.

49 On this topic, e.g., Joop W. Koopmans, 'Supply and Speed of Foreign News to the Netherlands during the Eighteenth Century: A Comparison of Newspapers in Haarlem and Groningen', in idem (ed.), *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Leuven, Paris and Dudley: Peeters, 2005), pp. 185–202.

50 Bender, *Relationes Historicae*, p. ix.

51 *Hollandsche Mercurius*, 35 (1685), opening. The full names of the *Europische Mercurius's*

Magazine under the pseudonym 'Sylvanus Urban.' This anonymity can be considered as a confirmation that the genre belonged to the same category of press products as newspapers, although only the well-to-do could afford to buy the infrequent news periodicals.

As a result of this anonymity, we do not have much information about the editors' contacts with publishers and their working methods, nor about their networks of correspondents. In any event, the initials and assumed names give the impression that the news periodicals may in many cases have been the work of one individual. This must have been an educated person with journalistic talents, such as the mastery of major European languages. The early-modern prestige of journalistic activities, however, was rather low, which was perhaps the most important reason why some of the news digests' editors, such as Edmund Burke of the *Annual Register*, did not reveal their names. Contemporaries opined that gentlemen such as Burke should not write for money. Furthermore, anonymity 'helped create an air of editorial impartiality', as F.P. Lock observed.⁵²

A final question concerning the meaning of news periodicals is whether or not their editors fully exploited their advantages over early-modern newspapermen, who had to work under great pressure and with many inadequate or dubious sources. This is one of the well-known reasons why newspapermen made so many mistakes, why they had to rectify many news briefs and why so many early-modern news items opened with phrases that indicated that many news items were rumours and could be false. Although editors of news periodicals could be more precise, some of them were rather lazy. They copied several news items directly from newspapers, thereby repeating the same mistakes and rumours. More professional or perhaps more clever editors sidestepped this problem by publishing as many documents about a subject as possible, from friends as well as enemies, leaving the reader to draw his or her own conclusions. This was particularly the case during times of war, with uncertainties about the course and outcome of a battle and the number of casualties.⁵³

first two editors (E.V. and J.C.) are still unknown. The following two editors have been identified as Laurens Arminius and Johannes Haverkamp. Dr. Kees van Strien produced several convincing arguments that Abraham Luiscius was the fifth editor. However, I have not yet found conclusive evidence in support of this hypothesis.

52 It is very likely that Burke had assistance in making the *Annual Register*, in other words, in this case the editing was not an individual enterprise. Lock, *Edmund Burke*, 1: pp. 166–167.

53 It is logical that news periodicals' editors were cautious because of possible censorship and other government measures that could hinder them. The editors of the *Messrelationen*, for example, avoided giving comment on the political news items during the Thirty Years' War and the Counterreformation. About war news, e.g., Joop W. Koopmans,

Although many editors of news summaries pretended to be objective as far as possible, their commentary could be rather biased. This can be partially explained by the circumstance that it was politically correct to write *pro patria*, particularly in periods of war.⁵⁴ Better research has to be done on this topic, to get a good idea of the degree of truth and accuracy of news periodicals when compared to the veracity, or the lack thereof, of newspapers.⁵⁵

4 Conclusion

Early-modern news periodicals were an important part of the information industry, not only in the distribution of available news but also with regard to its preservation for later generations, as a tool for collective memory. They were desired press products for the elite and middle classes: politicians, diplomats, merchants, high-ranking civil servants, clergymen and other more or less educated people. In contrast to newspapers the news digests were meant for the bookshelves, for contemporary and later generations, as reference works after first reading. They must have stimulated, for example, decision-making processes, as their news summaries expanded readers' knowledge about current affairs. In this way they were popular—as defined in this volume's introduction^[56]—press products. One of the other reasons why this category was successful must have been the stable and recognizable format. After seeing one copy the reader knew what he could expect. Furthermore, because most news editors avoided censorship through presenting information that would not disturb the authorities, many titles could exist for a long time.

The early-modern news digests and periodicals are an excellent source to shed new light on questions about the characteristics and availability of news during the early-modern era, because they developed as a mixture of crucial

'Oorlogen in het vroegmoderne nieuws: Nederlandse nieuwsbronnen over militaire confrontaties', *Historisch Tijdschrift Leidschrift*, 22 (2007), pp. 103–121. [See this volume's chapter thirteen.]

54 Van der Steen, 'De Europese Mercurius', pp. 216–217.

55 With regard to the early-modern notion that news had to be true, although this was very difficult to achieve: Marcel Broersma, 'A Daily Truth: The Persuasive Power of Early Modern Newspapers', in Joop W. Koopmans and Nils Holger Petersen (eds.), *Commonplace Culture in Western Europe in the Early Modern Period, 111: Legitimation of Authority* (Leuven, Paris and Dudley: Peeters, 2011), pp. 19–34.

56 [This volume's introduction means this chapter's original place of publication: Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond and Jeroen Salman, 'Introduction: The Distribution and Dissemination of Popular Print', in idem (eds.), *Not Dead Things: The Dissemination of Popular Print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500–1820* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 1–29.]

early-modern printed news media: the printed news reports, pamphlets and newspapers. Serialized news digests contained items taken from several newspapers, (parts of) pamphlets, all kinds of (government) documents and also news prints. Furthermore, they contained, in an earlier stage, far more domestic reports and documents than simultaneous newspapers did and could, and also more verified news and increasing comment on the news. In time they were also filled with newsletters from citizens about domestic events. All these factors make them eminently suitable for new research about the rise of early-modern public opinion.

Moreover, research about the content, production, distribution and evolution of news periodicals may clarify the international spread of news, their relationships with other contemporary media, and the degree to which citizens became involved in the news industry. Having more precise answers on such questions, it will become possible to formulate new ideas and visions about the still debated early modern shaping of public opinion and the expansion of a public sphere. We may expect that long-running news periodicals or chronicles have at least been an important stimulus for the rise of a permanent public sphere even before the 18th century, because they provided a large audience a coherent set of news items—an important condition for public debate.

The Presentation of News in the *Europische Mercurius* (1690–1756)*

To the reader.

The uncommon occurrences and revolutions which have taken place since the Christian world descended into warfare, due to the arrogance and ambition of France, prompted us to compose a new sort of Mercury with the start of the year (...). We have divided this work by the months of the year, as can be seen by the headers, and, in order to avoid any confusion, each country or kingdom will be discussed each month only as long as we have something to say about it (...).¹



In the second half of the seventeenth century the European reading public was infatuated by an urge for political information. The wars of Louis XIV played a considerable role in stimulating an increasing demand for news. For centuries the dissemination of news had been dominated by oral communication, but during the early modern period manuscript and printed media—such as newsletters, pamphlets and newspapers—began to play a more prominent part.² From the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries so-called *Mercuries*,

* Translated by Arthur der Weduwen. The Dutch version was published as ‘De presentatie van het nieuws in de *Europische Mercurius* (1690–1756)’, *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 23/3 (2000), pp. 117–133.

- 1 Quote in Dutch, derived from the opening of the first volume of 1690: “Aan den leezer. De ongemeene zaaken en revolutien, welke voorgevallen zyn sedert dat door de hoogmoed en staatzucht van Vrankryk de Christene Wereld in oorlog geraakt is, dedden ons het voorneemen opvatten van met den aanvang des jaars een nieuwe soort van Mercurius t’ontwerpen. (...) Wy hebben het Werk verdeeld in Maanden, gelyk men aan d’Opschriften zal kunnen zien, en, om alle verwarring te beter te kunnen vermyden, in ieder Maand van elk Land of Koningryk achtervolgens zo lang gesproken, als wy ’er geduurende dien tyd iets af te zeggen vonden (...).” I wish to thank Prof. Arend H. Huussen for his comments on an earlier version of this article.
- 2 A useful introduction is: Mitchell Stephens, *Geschiedenis van het nieuws: Van de tamtam tot de satelliet* (with an appendix by Joan Hemels) (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1989).

a genre of publication which has hitherto received limited historiographical attention, contributed to the diversification of news products.³ The Mercury genre was varied, and does not lend itself well to a simple definition. Some Mercuries were barely distinguishable from newspapers, which published—often in a dry tone—a variety of news bulletins organised by the country of origin. Other Mercuries had a literary or satirical character, including some which presented news in verse. Yet others can be thought of more as contemporary chronicles with sophisticated summaries of events.⁴ One such Mercury had been available to the Dutch reading public since 1651: the *Hollandsche Mercurius* [Holland Mercury]. The subject of this article, the *Europische Mercurius* [European Mercury] (published between 1690 and 1756), also belongs to this final category.⁵

Details on the emergence and production process of the *Europische Mercurius* are scarce. The editors of the Mercury, who were responsible for gathering the content, rarely give the sources for their summaries. It is therefore impossible to determine precisely where most reports are derived from. In all likelihood the editors relied largely on newspapers, both foreign and domestic. This does render the *Europische Mercurius* a useful source for the study of the eighteenth-century Dutch press, providing a comprehensive overview of newsgathering in the Dutch Republic. It gives some indication which reports were selected for lasting memory. It can be expected that most buyers of the *Europische Mercurius* had their copies bound for preservation in their libraries, while most newspapers—like newspapers today—were not destined for a long shelf life. The long publication history of the *Europische Mercurius*, the publication of a predecessor and a successor—respectively the aforementioned *Hollandsche Mercurius* and the *Maandelykse Nederlandsche Mercurius* [Monthly Netherlandish Mercury]—and the publication of competing ventures, like the *Nederlandsche Maandelykse Postryder* [Netherlandish Monthly Post Rider],⁶

3 A recent exception is the reissue of Hendrik Doedijns, *De Haegse Mercurius* (9 aug. 1697–1 feb. 1698), Rietje van Vliet (ed.) (Leiden: Uitgeverij Astraea, 1996).

4 From a modern perspective the *Europische Mercurius* (EM) includes a collection of old news reports, which can be hardly distinguished from an ordered sequence of historical facts. However, one has to realise that most 'news' reached its audience much slower than today. Even newspapers included reports about events that had happened months before. This makes the EM's content partially much more topical than comparable present-day surveys.

5 The EM had different subtitles. From 1740 the main title was *Nederlandsch gedenkboek of Europische Mercurius* [Netherlandish memorial book or European Mercury].

6 This news digest was also published in Amsterdam, by Nicolaas ten Hoorn, a nephew of the first publisher of the EM, Timotheus ten Hoorn. Isabella H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse*

give some indication that there was significant demand for such news compilations amongst the Dutch reading public. In hindsight this is understandable, given that seventeenth- and eighteenth-century newspapers rarely featured overarching commentary on political developments. The common practice of including many official documents in the *Mercuries* further increased their value as reference works.

This article expands on earlier considerations of the *Europische Mercurius*.⁷ Below I discuss the classification of the contents of this Mercury in order to reveal the origins and frequency of the reports placed in the serial—an investigation which has never before taken place for the *Europische Mercurius* as for other *Mercuries*. This investigation contributes new insights into the availability of European news to a Dutch reading public. Furthermore, thanks to the classification, a variety of remarkable discoveries come to light concerning the relatively unknown sequence of editors of the *Europische Mercurius* and their particular editorial styles. Before this treatment a few new details on the foundation of this Mercury will be presented. This forms a modest contribution to the history of book publishing in the Dutch Republic and the lives of its jobbing writers, as we may typify the editors of the *Europische Mercurius*.

1 Title and Title Page, the Publishers and the Editors

In its heyday the *Europische Mercurius* was published in Amsterdam, towards its end it appeared in The Hague. During its first three years the *Mercury* consisted of quarterly parts; from 1693 the publishers released a new issue of around 300 pages every half year. As stated earlier, the majority of these pages were made up of compilations of news events, often supplemented with texts like eye-witness accounts, peace treaties and edicts; sometimes the editors complemented the news with their own commentary and aphorisms, the latter known to them from study or habit.

The *Europische Mercurius* which appeared in 1690 was not the first title to carry that name. In the middle of the seventeenth century the Amsterdam bookseller Jacob Benjamin had used this same title for a reprint of the *Hol-*

boekhandel 1680–1725 (AB), vol. 3, *Gegevens over de vervaardigers, hun internationale relaties en de uitgaven A–M* (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1965), pp. 162–164.

7 See Joop W. Koopmans, 'De *Europische Mercurius* getypeerd (1690–1756)', *Historisch Tijdschrift Groniek*, 33 (2000), pp. 360–373 and Nicole van der Steen, 'De *Europische Mercurius* en de Maandelijksse Nederlandse Mercurius: De evolutie van een periodieke kroniek tot "de" *Mercurius*', *Ex tempore*, 15 (1996), pp. 211–235.

landsche Mercurius. In a surviving example of an issue discussing events from 1658 Benjamin was rather careless, as the phrase “Hollantse Mercurius” is still present at various points in the review. The content of his pirate edition is identical to the corresponding part of the *Hollandsche Mercurius*.⁸ Shortly before he published this reprint Benjamin was fined for the pirating of a book by Jacob Cats.⁹ This sentence clearly did not restrain him from continuing such practices. It is possible that the first editor of the *Europische Mercurius* of 1690 knew the work of Benjamin and derived his title from his publications. It seems more likely, however, that he was inspired by the German *Europäischer Mercurius, oder Götter-Both* [European Mercury, or Messenger of the Gods], first published in 1689. In contrast to the Dutch *Europische Mercurius* the German publication knew only a short existence. Already in February 1690 this Mercury was prohibited in Nuremberg because of defamatory content related to the German intellectual Samuel Pufendorf and his brother.¹⁰

The names and locations of the publishers—but not those of the editors—of *Europische Mercurius* are found on the title pages of the serial throughout its publication. The first publisher was Timotheus ten Hoorn, active as “bookseller in Amsterdam in the Nes, in ‘t Zinnebeeld” —between the Brakke Grond and the Lombardsteeg. In 1702 the brothers-in-law Daniel van Dalen and Andries van Damme took over publication from Ten Hoorn. It is possible that Ten Hoorn, who had considerable debts since 1692, sold the publication to ease his financial troubles. In 1699 Van Dalen had returned to Leiden, where he was once more active as a bookseller from 1702 onwards. In previous years he had worked in Amsterdam with Andries van Damme, who was located on the Rokin, “next to the bourse”.¹¹ The publication of the *Europische Mercurius* from two cities undoubtedly had a positive effect on its sale. According to Van Eeghen, Van Dalen was forced to sell his bookshop in 1710 due to a broken hip.¹² Yet until

8 The *Nederlandse Centrale Catalogus* (NCC; Dutch Central Catalogue) mentions only one surviving volume, found in Tresoar, Leeuwarden (the Netherlands), stated to be the fifth volume. However, it is the ninth volume of the *Hollandsche Mercurius* (the number nine has been changed in a five in the copy by hand). Below the preface and above pages 153–160 one can still find ‘Hollantse (or ‘Hollantze’) Mercurius’. Benjamin is also known as Benjamins.

9 Van Eeghen, *AB*, vol. 5–1, *De boekhandel van de Republiek 1572–1795* (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1978), p. 230.

10 Johannes Weber, *Götter-Both Mercurius: Die Urgeschichte der politischen Zeitschrift in Deutschland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1994), pp. 125–139.

11 Van Eeghen, *AB*, vol. 3, pp. 164–166.

12 Van Eeghen, *AB*, vol. 5–1, pp. 249. During his Amsterdam period Van Dalen also resided near the stock exchange (in the “Spreeuwpot”), thus close to Andries van Damme’s shop. The latter’s marriage had brought him to Amsterdam. M.M. Kleerkooper, *De boekhandel te*

1715 his name continued to feature on the title pages of the *Europische Mercurius*. Andries van Damme continued publication of the *Europische Mercurius* until his death in 1727.¹³ On the first issue of 1727 the name of his widow, Judith Engelgraaf, is placed on the title page; from the next issue until 1730 it was the name of his nephew, the Leiden bookseller Hendrik Jansz van Damme, the son of Andries's brother Jan, who initially took over the premises from Andries's widow. According to his successor, Maria Lijbreghts, Hendrik did not pay much attention to the publication of the Mercury. Like the widow of Andries, Hendrik returned to Leiden after his stint as publisher of the *Europische Mercurius*.¹⁴

With Maria Lijbreghts at the helm the *Europische Mercurius* entered a new commercial phase. Maria was the widow of the publisher Johannes Ratelband, whose premises were located on the corner of the Kalverstraat and the Dam square. It is possible that Ratelband had made arrangements to take over the *Europische Mercurius* shortly before his death in January 1730. Ratelband had previously co-published several texts with Andries van Damme, so he will have known of the up and downs of the *Europische Mercurius*. Maria continued her late husband's business and in the same year of his death entered into a second marriage with the paper merchant Bernardus van Gerrevink from Vaassen, a village in the eastern Veluwe. After one issue stated to have been published by the "widow J. Ratelband" alone, the next featured the phrase "heirs of J. Ratelband and company", referring to Van Gerrevink's participation. Only in 1747 does the name of Van Gerrevink appear on the title page; he had then recently been admitted to the Amsterdam's printer guild. However, he died the next year in 1748, so that after four issues Maria Lijbreghts' name returned to the title page, now as the "widow Gerrevink". By 1750 she seems to have ended her involvement in the book trade.¹⁵

Amsterdam voornamelijk in de 17^e eeuw. Biographische en geschiedkundige aantekeningen, vol. 2. Wilhelmus Petrus van Stockum Jr. (ed.) (The Hague: Nijhoff 1914–1916), p. 163.

13 Andries van Damme does not have an entry in the third volume of Van Eeghen's study; he is mentioned as member of the booksellers' guild and as a bookseller in the first part of her fifth volume, p. 342. See also Kleerkooper, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam*, pp. 163–167.

14 The cover of the first issues of 1727 mentions "by de weduwe" (with the widow); its title page still mentions Andries van Damme. On Hendrik Jansz van Damme as a member of the guild see: Van Eeghen, *AB* 5–1, p. 343. The 1729 title page mentions the third house on the Beurssluis near the Dam square as his address. Maria Lijbreghts is also known as Leijbreghts. See also on both Andries and Hendrick van Damme and Van Dalen: Hannie van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen: Veranderingen in de boekdistributie in de Republiek 1720–1800* (Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 1999), pp. 76, 126–127. See further Koopmans, 'De *Europische Mercurius* getypeerd', p. 368.

15 Ratelband also published the *Maandelijksche Berichten uit de andere wereld of de spreekende dooden* [Monthly Reports from the Other World or Speaking Dead Persons]. A joint

Meanwhile, the publication of the *Europische Mercurius* had passed into the hands of a publisher from The Hague, because the second part of 1749 was printed there by Fredric Henric Scheurleer. This Hague printer had made a name for himself by publishing *Le Mercure Historique et Politique*, edited by Jean Rousset de Missy. The States of Holland had banned this Mercury in July 1749 because “a minster of a certain potentate” had been insulted in one of its issues.¹⁶ The publication of the *Europische Mercurius* may therefore have been a welcome compensation for Scheurleer because of the loss of the French Mercury.

For the last one and a half years of its existence the *Europische Mercurius* was published by Ottho van Thol. He was a prominent citizen of The Hague, and a member of the local booksellers’ guild and the Reformed Church. His family was almost exclusively concerned with the publication of Dutch works, while many other printers in The Hague published many French titles.¹⁷ In this respect the *Europische Mercurius* fitted well within Van Thol’s repertoire, but the Mercury was wound up shortly after he took over publication. The reasons for its disappearance are unclear, but perhaps the Mercury suffered from competition from the more elegant *Maandelijkse Nederlandse Mercurius* [Monthly Netherlandish Mercury], launched in 1756. It is also unclear how the *Europische Mercurius* ended up in The Hague, and published by Scheurleer and Ottho van Thol—but contacts between publishers were of course not restricted to municipal level. Ottho’s father Pieter van Thol had worked together from The Hague with the aforementioned Amsterdam publisher Johannes Ratelband.¹⁸

The details surrounding the publishers of the *Europische Mercurius* indicate that the publication of this Mercury was always kept within a small circle of

edition of Andries van Damme and Johannes Ratelband is, for example: Jacques Lemoine de l’Espine and Isaac Lelong, *Den Koophandel van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1714). Van Eeghen, *AB*, vol. 4, *Gegevens over de vervaardigers, hun internationale relaties en de uitgaven n-w, papierhandel, drukkerijen en boekverkopers in het algemeen* (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1967), pp. 54–59.

16 At this time Scheurleer lived in a house called ‘Het Zwaantje’ (The Little Swan). Ernst Ferdinand Kossmann, *De boekhandel te ’s-Gravenhage tot het eind van de 18de eeuw: Biografisch woordenboek van boekverkoopers, uitgevers, boekdrukkers, boekbinders enz. Met vermelding van hun uitgaven en veilingen door hen gehouden* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1937), pp. 348–349. Willem P.C. Knuttel, *Verboden boeken in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden: Beredeneerde catalogus* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1914), p. 78 (nr. 261).

17 Ottho van Thol resided, until the end of his partnership with his brother Pieter, at the corner of Lang Achterom Nieuwezijds and Kort Achterom Oudezijds; from 1756 onwards his shop was situated in the Wagenstraat. Kossmann, *De boekhandel te ’s-Gravenhage*, pp. 395–396.

18 Van Eeghen, *AB*, vol. 3, p. 146.

contacts, especially in the Amsterdam period. Due to a lack of surviving sources we cannot trace the editors of the *Europische Mercurius* in a similar manner. Until 1751 only the initials of the editor can be found on the title page of the Mercury; these disappear for the last six years of publication. From these title pages we can reconstruct how long the editors maintained their post. The Mercury was first edited by "E.v.", who was active until January 1707; "J.C." was the second editor, until July 1718.¹⁹ During the transition period between the two editors there was an interval in publication of the *Europische Mercurius* of two years. In July 1708 the French bookseller Jean Louis de Lorme wrote to the Abbé Jean Paul Bignon: "The issue of the first six months of the *Europische Mercurius* of 1706 has not yet been printed." It is possible that the first editor, "E.v.", struggled to fulfil his duty during the last few years of his tenure. But the interruption may also have been caused by the publisher. The statement by De Lorme, who worked in Amsterdam, is also noteworthy because it demonstrates that the *Europische Mercurius* was exported to France. In 1705 De Lorme had come to an agreement with Bignon to deliver to him all the latest publications from the Dutch Republic, the Southern Netherlands and Germany.²⁰ The purchase of the *Europische Mercurius* by Bignon was thus not a question of particular interest in the title. But the statement does suggest that the Mercury may have been desired in certain French circles, given that it is singled out by De Lorme in his despatch.

A few years ago Daniëlle Geuke identified the identity of the third editor of the *Europische Mercurius*, thanks to the work of Jacob Campo Weyerman: the jurist Laurens Arminius. This great-grandson of the well-known theologian Jacobus Arminius was involved in the serial from July 1718 until his death in June 1727. Besides his editorial work for the *Europische Mercurius* he worked on a variety of translations, which, according to notifications placed in the Mercury, were produced by its publisher.²¹ Most of these translations concern the work

19 So far searches through several indices and consultations with colleagues did not yield any results. In *EM*, 13/1 (1702), pp. 253–254 "E.v." calls himself a good friend of Jan de Regt, whose epitaph of Stadtholder-King William III is included in his digest. This epitaph can also be found in Jan de Regt's *Mengel-dichten en kluchtspel de nachtwachts* (Amsterdam: Johannes Oosterwyk, 1709), p. 6.

20 Quote in French: "Le volume des 6 premiers mois de l'Europische Mercurius de 1706 n'est pas encore imprimé." Bignon took over the *Direction de la Librairie* from his uncle, the French Chancelier de Pontchartrain (1699–1714). Van Eeghen, *AB*, vol. 1, *Jean Louis de Lorme en zijn copieboek* (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1960), pp. 54, 63–64, 147.

21 Daniëlle Geuke, 'Laurens Arminius en zijn "bijzonderheden"', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 15 (1992), pp. 115, 119. Arminius's name is only listed fully in the *EM*'s announcements concerning the translation of a court case about Alexei, the son of Tsar Peter the Great. For the rest these announcements mention the abbreviation L.A.R.G. The letters "R.G." probably stand for "rechtsgeleerde" (jurist). Laurens Arminius's

of the Genevan theologian Benedict Pictet, whose death in 1724 is described in great detail by “L.A.” in the *Europische Mercurius*, devoting to the deceased scholar an extensive obituary, a portrait engraving and a five page bibliography of his works.²² This interest may be considered as further indirect evidence for Geuke’s identification of Arminius as editor of the Mercury. She devoted additional attention to the manner in which Arminius praises Weyerman’s *Historie des Pausdoms* [*History of the Papacy*].²³ However, Geuke does not tell us of the following quote from Weyerman’s book on the persecution of Protestants in Polish Toruń, which Arminius copied in the *Europische Mercurius*:

I will always remember the pouring blood of Toruń,
O Jesuit scum, brought forth by Satan:
And drench this swan’s feather in bile and vinegar,
The present horrors demand such liquid.²⁴

Like Weyerman, Arminius was repulsed and horrified by the state of affairs in Poland.

I have come to the conclusion that Johannes Haverkamp was the fourth editor of the *Europische Mercurius*, from July 1727 until July 1737. His name is often present in notifications placed in the Mercury of forthcoming works issued by the same publisher. Like Arminius, Haverkamp was responsible for many translations, especially of political and historical texts.²⁵ The *Europische Mercurius* was not the final stage in Haverkamp’s career, because a biographical entry still records translations from his hand from 1753.²⁶

step-father was the Amsterdam physician Dr. Egbertus Veen. He had, according to Hans Bots, *De ‘Bibliothèque universelle et historique’ (1688–1693): Een periodiek als trefpunt van geletterd Europa* (Amsterdam: APA-Holland Universiteits Pers, 1981), p. 381, contact with Jean Leclerc (of le Clerc), an editor of the *Bibliothèque universelle et historique*. Veen’s initials correspond with those of the first *EM*’s editor, however, a connection between Veen and the *EM* has not yet been proven.

22 *EM*, 35/2 (1724), pp. 34–39.

23 Geuke, ‘Laurens Arminius’, p. 117.

24 Quote in Dutch: “K zal het gestorte Bloed van Thoren steeds gedenken, / O Jesuiets Gespuys, door Satans voortgbrogt: / En zal deez’ Zwaane-veer in Gal en Edik drenken, / ’T bedreven schelmstuk eyscht die Vogt.” *EM*, 37/1 (1726), p. 82. The *EM* does not report about Weyerman’s verdict and his death in the volumes of 1739 and 1747 respectively.

25 Until 1748 Haverkamp also edited the *Staatsgeheimen van Europa* [State Secrets of Europe]. Van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen*, p. 174. See also Koopmans, ‘De *Europische Mercurius* getypeerd’, p. 366.

26 In Philipp C. Molhuysen and Petrus J. Blok (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1912), pp. 551–552, Ebbinge Wubben suggested that two

After Haverkamp's tenure as editor the initials "A.L." are noted on the title page of the *Europische Mercurius* from July 1737 until 1751.²⁷ "A.L." and his four predecessors all edited the serial for a respectable period of time. Given the numerous other activities of Arminius and Haverkamp it seems that the editing of the *Europische Mercurius* cannot have been a daily activity, and it is likely that the compensation afforded to them for the position was not enough to sustain the lifestyle which their social status demanded of them. The careers of Arminius and Haverkamp, and the difficulty in identifying the other editors, do not suggest that the editors of the *Europische Mercurius* were rich or famous individuals who could afford to edit the serial as a hobby. Yet further attempts to estimate the salary paid to the editors are fruitless as long as the price of the Mercury and the costs of production are unknown.²⁸

The common use of the first singular personal in the *Europische Mercurius* suggests that the editors did not hesitate to instil the news compilations with their own voice. While they often go to great lengths to emphasise their impartiality, often publishing contrasting accounts of battles, they are not afraid to contribute outspoken personal judgements. Laurens Arminius remarked in 1725 with great humour on a French ordinance targeting fictitious imprints and the false registration of books: "Ha! If one were to publish such an ordinance here, the entire Kalverstraat would erupt in laughter."²⁹ The editors also

individuals may have had the same name, because the first character's work is literary, and concerns largely plays; but no mention was made of translations announced in the *EM*, all done from French: Voltaire, *Historie van Karel den XII. koning van Zweden* (Amsterdam: Erven J. Ratelband en co., 1733); *Gedenkschriften om te dienen tot de historie van Brandenburg* (Amsterdam: Jac. Haffman en P. Meyer, 1751); M.C.L. de Beausobre, *De zegepraal der onnozelheit, of weinig bekende byzonderheden, zoo eerlyk voor de Hervormden van Vrankryk als dezelve het weinig zyn voor hunne tegenstreevers* (Amsterdam: Kornelis de Wit, 1752).

27 In 1734 Ratelband's widow, Maria Lijbreghts, published the two-volume *Redeneerdend verhoog over het notarisampt* by Arend Lybreghts, a notary from The Hague. Arend Lybreghts' initials correspond with those of the fifth *EM*'s editor. He was perhaps a relative of Maria Lijbreghts. So far, there are no further indications leading to a link with the *EM*. If Arend Lybreghts had been the editor of the *EM*, its transfer to a The Hague publisher can be connected with this. But his year of death, 1758, does not correspond with "A.L."s last editing year, 1750. On the notary Lybreghts see: Adriaan Pitlo, *De zeventiende en achttiende eeuwse notarisboeken en wat zij ons omtrent ons oude notariaat leeren* (Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1948), pp. 112–118.

28 Bert van Selm, "... te bekomen voor een Civielen prijs": De Nederlandse boekprijs in de zeventiende eeuw als onbekende grootheid', *De Zeventiende Eeuw: Tijdschrift van de Werkgroep Zeventiende Eeuw*, 6 (1990), pp. 98–116, at p. 108, supposes that one printed sheet of paper cost about one stuiver. One issue of the *EM* consisted of around forty sheets.

29 Quote in Dutch: "Ah! mogt men hier ook zo een Ordonnantie zien voor den dag komen, wat zoude zy door de geheele Kalver-Straat schateren." *EM*, 36/1 (1725), p. 162.

frequently judge the relative veracity of rumours that have come to their attention. In 1692 the first editor of the *Mercury* commented on various rumours surrounding the politics of the German electors:

Certainly, these are a number of politic insights by hasty brains, who are able to imagine such important developments from the slightest footsteps of potentates. This has become the great folly of our century; and today Tacitus, the great forefather of such prophecies, has many devoted followers.³⁰

“E.v.” here displays an aversion against the quick judgement of some political commentators, but also a professed knowledge of the classics. References to classical authors are frequently employed by other editors too. Furthermore, “E.v.” also names a contemporary news writer on multiple occasions in the *Europische Mercurius*: “Monseigneur du Breuil”. This was the Amsterdam courrantier Jean Tronchin Du Breuil (1641–1721), the editor of the *Nouvelles Extraordinaires*, and since 1691 also publisher of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*. Du Breuil concluded his *Gazette* each year with a review of events, and commenced the new year with his assessment of the prospects for the year ahead. Du Breuil was well known as an informed news writer, and was often relied upon (even by statesmen) to provide access to political documents. In 1713 the Grand Pensionary of Holland, Anthonie Heinsius, advised the Dutch plenipotentiary at the peace congress of Utrecht, Willem Buys, to ask Du Breuil for a desired document.³¹ The second editor of the *Europische Mercurius*, “J.c.”, referred to the writer of the *Boekzaal van Europa* [Library of Europe], a well-known intellectual journal, initiated by the notary Pieter Rabus in 1692.³² Such

30 Quote in Dutch: “Zeker, een menigte van staatkundige inzichten: en vruchtbaare herssenen, die zich zulke groote beweegredenen van de minste treden der Vorsten weeten in te beelden. Ondertusschen is dit de dwaasheid van onze eeuw: en Tacitus, die groote maaker van overdenkingen, heeft tegenwoordig veele navolgers.” *EM*, 3/1 (1692), p. 55.

31 See the openings in the *EM* of 1702, 1705 and 1706. The *EM* refers to the *Nouvelles Extraordinaires*. Otto S. Lankhorst, ‘La *Gazette de la Haye* (1744–1790), cadette des premières gazettes néerlandaises’, in Henri Duranton, Claude Labrosse and Pierre Rétat (eds.), *Les Gazettes Européennes de langue française (XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles). Table ronde internationale Saint-Étienne, 21–23 mai 1992* (Saint Étienne: Publications de l’Université de Saint-Etienne, 1992), p. 51; Augustus Johannes Veenendaal Jr. (ed.), *De briefwisseling van Anthonie Heinsius 1702–1720*, vol. 4 (The Hague: Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, 1981), p. 252 and vol. 14, *1 september 1712–30 april 1713* (The Hague: Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, 1995), pp. 573, 583; Van Eeghen, *AB IV*, pp. 143–146. My sincere thanks are due to Dr. Otto S. Lankhorst for his extra information.

32 See the opening of *EM* 1707. On the *Boekzaal* see Hans Bots (ed.), *Pieter Rabus en de*

references indicate that the editors were aware of the rich variety of serials published at the time, and that they wished to display their familiarity with other titles.

Much of the content of the *Europische Mercurius* was, as we have noted, derived from contemporary newspapers or from foreign correspondents. Sometimes editors copied verbatim entire sections from newspaper issues, although they never cited the original source.³³ Today we might accuse the editors of plagiarism, but when the *Europische Mercurius* was published the unabridged copying of text was not an offence—in contrast to the reprinting of privileged books, for which one could be prosecuted. The redaction of relevant letters from foreign sources—newspapers or letters—must have taken much more effort than the selection of material from Dutch media, given the time required for translation. Not all translations for the *Europische Mercurius* will have been performed by the editor, but one can presume that the editor must at least have been familiar with Latin and the languages used by the Dutch Republic's neighbours.

2 The Organisation of the *Europische Mercurius*

For the sixty-six years of its production the volumes of the *Europische Mercurius* together comprise over 42,000 pages in quarto. The content is divided up in monthly sections of variant length. Most reports are presented grouped together under the country of origin, a practice similar to early modern newspapers.³⁴ At the start of the first issue of each year the *Europische Mercurius* offers a review of the events of the past year, preceded with an elegant title page engraving, sometimes accompanied by an explanation in verse (see the appendix).³⁵ The opening retrospective passages are sometimes also divided

Boekzaal van Europe 1692–1702: Verkenningen binnen de Republiek der Letteren in het laatste kwart van de zeventiende eeuw (Amsterdam: Holland University Press, 1974).

33 Wilbert Schreurs, 'De Republiek en Pruisen: Een onderzoek naar de beeldvorming rond Frederik II in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden in de jaren 1740–1763' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Utrecht, 1986), p. 18. He mentions the *Leidsche Courant* [Leiden Newspaper] as one of the sources.

34 Rietje van Vliet, 'Hij is als een tweede Proteus die alderhande gedaenten aenneemt: Kranten en mercuriale geschriften in de 17de en het begin van de 18de eeuw', *Proteus: Bulletin van het Leids Renassancistendispuut De Leiderkring*, 8 (1992), pp. 1–9, at p. 1.

35 The reviews have different headings, for example: 'Current state of Europe, and political considerations on what passed last year', 'Political considerations, for the introduction of this Mercury' and 'Recapitulation or repetition of the most important political events of

by country after a short general introduction on the political affairs of Europe. The reviews vary in quality, and can fluctuate in length between two and sixty pages.³⁶ The first three editors, devoted most efforts to the presentation of opening reviews, with the second editor, “J.C.,” allotting them most space. From the tenure of Haverkamp as editor (July 1727) the retrospective reviews never take up much space, even if they are printed in a smaller typeface than in previous years.

In July 1718 Laurens Arminius introduced a section entitled “peculiarities” at the end of each month’s reports.³⁷ With this Arminius hoped to extend the potential appeal of the *Europische Mercurius*. In this column he often discussed a variety of personal details of worldly and ecclesiastical potentates, recorded instances of extremely old age, offered records of the number of inhabitants of the largest cities of Europe, or provided details on recent disasters, natural phenomena, far-flung explorations, murders and many bizarre marvels. A typical example of Arminius’s tone in this section is his whimsical reaction to the justification offered for the murder of an Englishman by his wife of forty-five years. According to her, they had been married long enough, “a most sufficient argument”, in the words of Arminius. In his discussions of other nations this editor always remained most intrigued by the English. In 1721 he remarked after a report of yet another Englishman who committed suicide that:

How is it possible, that a physician or apothecary can maintain their livelihood in England? For while the Brits turn to the pistol, noose, poison, or other life-shortening methods without hesitation, the physician (that is, a usurped term of doctors) are forced to beg for bread. A Brit is a born butcher, because he lives for the amusements of raw meat.³⁸

the last year (...) which took place in Europe and the Netherlands’. A few reviews do not have a heading.

36 The review concerning 1712, published in 1713, has the most, with at sixty-one pages.

37 See also Geuke, ‘Laurens Arminius’, pp. 116–118. A few samples do not confirm her assumption—based on Jacob Campo Weyerman—that the section “peculiarities” corresponds closely with Jan van Gysen’s *Amsterdamsche Mercurius* [Amsterdam Mercury]. Arminius might have derived information from Van Gysen’s Mercury, but Van Gysen’s news—in verses—was also obtainable elsewhere.

38 Quote in Dutch: “Hoe is het mogelyk, dat een Geneesheer of Apotheker in Engeland kan bestaan? want dewyl de Britten met Pistool, strop, vergif, en diergelyke levens-verkortingen, zo gemeenzaam omgaan, moet de genees-kunde (dat is een geusurpeerde term der Doctoren) noodzaakelyk om brood lopen. Een Brit is een geboren Slager, want hy leeft op ’t vertier van raauw vleesch.” *EM*, 32/2 (1721), p. 119.

Before the introduction of the new section, such information could sometimes be found in part within the existing geographical divisions of the main text. But clearly the new section was a success with the readers of the *Europische Mercurius*, because the “peculiarities” were maintained after Arminius’s tenure until the final issues of the Mercury. However, the founder of the section did devote the most attention—in terms of pages used—for his contribution.³⁹ In total 1,450 pages were filled with “peculiarities” between 1718 and 1756.

Aside from the retrospective reviews, the many sections headed by the name of a country (such as “France” and “Italy”) and the “peculiarities”, the *Europische Mercurius* also featured advertisements from the publisher and an index at the end of each bi-annual issue. Furthermore, most issues are illustrated throughout with a few—always unpaginated—copperplate engravings. In issues before the end of the War of the Spanish Succession some general information—for example, the text of peace treaties—was not organised under geographical headers. From 1730 the *Europische Mercurius* also included a few thematic contributions.⁴⁰ For the calculations of the news content of the Mercury offered in the figure below, 1,800 pages of thematic and introductory content and 1,450 pages of “peculiarities” have been deducted from the total number of 42,000 pages.⁴¹ The remaining pages of the *Europische Mercurius* are, as stated, all organised by country or state. The sequence of these geographical divisions often changed. Sometimes it is difficult to trace any logical organisation in their order, while at other moments a clear pattern seems to be observed: for example, an organisation which opens with reports the furthest away from the Low Countries, coming ever closer, and finishing with reports from the Low Countries themselves. The fifth editor is notable for the use of tenuous coupling between geographical sections. Take for example the forced links used in the month of January of the review of 1748:

Having arrived at the main body, we find ourselves necessitated to start with the Russian Empire (...) Now entering the German Empire (...) Moving up to the Electorate of Saxony (...) Leaving the German Empire for Italy, it is necessary to pass through Swiss territory (...) Leaving this land,

39 The monthly periodicity of the “peculiarities” was not always maintained. The volumes of 1735 and 1736 only featured the section in five of the twelve months.

40 About sodomy (1730), the Waldensians (1731), shipworms (1732 and 1733), the history of Poland (1733) and a prophecy about the Dutch Republic’s change of religion and government (1734).

41 The figure of 1,800 includes the pages of the yearly opening texts.

we go forth to the Spanish Empire (...) Then we cross over to the British Empire (...) Crossing to the French court (...) descending down to the Generality Lands (...) Crossing over to the African coast.⁴²

3 Geographical Divisions; the Netherlands and Its Neighbours

Table 1 (below) offers an overview of the attention devoted to different geographical regions in the *Europische Mercurius*, displayed in percentages of the total content, and divided by editor. It is to be expected that notable European events can be recognised as peaks of interest. This is true for the high percentage of interest in Poland during the tenure of the fourth editor, Haverkamp. During his time as editor Poland was involved in a war of succession (1733–1738). The prominence of this struggle even led the editor to the unusual decision of including a general history of Poland in the *Europische Mercurius*.⁴³ The geographical divisions do come with a significant caveat: news presented in the *Europische Mercurius* under the header of a particular country also includes news discussing other countries which had first been reported in that place. The coronation of Tsarina Elizabeth in 1741 is reported under the header “Netherlands” because this news was announced by the Russian ambassador in The Hague.⁴⁴ The figure therefore displays how much news has been reported from a particular European location. We also need to remember that the editors often struggled to place some international news with implications for multiple countries under one geographical header. Wars provided them with an especially problematic choice: where does one place reports on the progress of a conflict or peace treaties involving numerous adversaries? It seems that the location of a battle field and the peace negotiations are often the decisive factors for the final choice, but we cannot speak of systematic observance of this

42 Quote in Dutch: “Komende tot de materie, zo vinden we ons genoodzaakt aan te vangen met het Russische Ryk. (...) Toetredende na 't Duitsche Ryk. (...) Opgaande na 't Saxische Keurvorstendom. (...) 't Duitsche Ryk verlatende, hebben we nodig, om in Italien te komen, 't Zwitsersche Gebied te passeren. (...) Dit Land verlatende, gaan we voort na 't Spa[a]nsche Ryk. (...) Wy steken dan over na 't Britsche Ryk. (...) Overstekende na 't Fransche Hof. (...) Afdalende en komende in de Generaliteit. (...) Overstekende na d'Africaansche Kust.” *EM*, 59/1 (1748), pp. 12, 22, 28, 30, 37, 39, 47, 56, 85.

43 See footnote 40, above.

44 *EM*, 52/2 (1741), pp. 58–59 (December). Practical considerations may also have played a role. The editor was, in this instance, almost finished with the issue, and was able to include this news in the final section concerning the Netherlands.

TABLE 1 Geographical content of the *Europische Mercurius*, divided among overarching regions and expressed in percentages calculated using the number of pages (presented as a total and divided by editor). a = January–June issue / b = July–December issue / anon = anonymous

Area	Period and editor						
	1690	1690	1707	1718b	1727b	1737b	1751
	1756	1706	1718a	1727a	1737a	1750	1756
	% total	% E.V.	% J.C.	% L.A.	% J.H.	% A.L.	% anon
Netherlands	19,63	22,94	18,17	15,26	12,28	23,13	21,34
British Isles	18,31	14,75	27,67	16,77	20,55	16,53	13,78
Central Europe	17,56	15,64	10,76	17,32	19,45	25,75	15,42
France	13,63	11,23	13,93	20,75	15,54	10,26	15,91
Italy and Savoy	10,71	16,86	6,42	7,96	9,98	9,51	7,20
Spain	4,33	4,44	6,67	5,07	4,73	2,12	2,84
Scandinavia	3,92	1,64	5,43	8,17	2,04	3,56	6,44
Poland	3,65	3,21	3,07	3,13	10,04	1,27	2,19
Switzerland	2,79	5,78	4,75	0,80	—	1,19	0,22
Russia	2,09	0,33	0,34	2,65	4,00	4,22	2,37
Turkey	1,46	2,03	2,13	1,21	—	1,17	1,71
Portugal	0,89	1,04	0,50	0,51	1,18	0,67	1,77
outside Europe	1,03	0,11	0,16	0,41	0,21	0,60	8,81

rule.⁴⁵ Sometimes multiple states are combined under a single header, as “Germany and Turkey” were between 1692 and 1703 due to the Great Turkish War and its aftermath.⁴⁶

The table above suggests, unreasonably so, that the *Europische Mercurius* contained much news on the Dutch Republic. The header “Netherlands” comprises news from the Dutch Republic as well as the Southern Netherlandish provinces, including the sovereign prince-bishopric of Liège. Moreover, the content described in the “Netherlands” section deviates remarkably from the content of other European regions. While the regular European sections reflect

45 For example, the reports concerning the peace negotiations at Rijswijk in 1697 are placed under the header “United Netherlands”. See *EM*, 8/2 (1697), pp. 58–101, 155–227, 267–348.

46 In these instances the total number of pages is divided equally among the countries concerned, given that an analysis of the content would be far too time-consuming.

primarily the most important political developments in their respective countries, the sections on the Netherlands (which altogether take up a fifth of the issues of the *Europische Mercurius*) consist predominantly of the texts of official documents, such as edicts, placards, resolutions, court sentences and cargo lists of Dutch East Indiamen. The total number of pages devoted to the “Netherlands” is therefore disproportionately high. Furthermore, there is no balanced provision of news on the Dutch Republic itself. One gets the impression that the extensive treatment of particular domestic subjects are simply due to the random availability of certain official documents, if not due to the personal preoccupations of the editors: the review of 1692 contains sixty-two pages on the unrest in Goes concerning the election of the new municipal treasurers.⁴⁷

It is interesting to note that news reports concerning the Dutch Republic and the Southern Netherlands remain united under the header “Netherlands” in most issues of the *Europische Mercurius*. This practice may have originated purely from practical considerations to maintain orderly geographical divisions. It may also indicate that most editors still felt sentiments of Netherlandish unity, despite the separation of the two states since the Dutch Revolt. Nevertheless, the editors did separate news content from the two states under the same header, often placing reports from the south before those from the Dutch Republic. The unification of north and south under a single header was not always observed. Editor “E.v.” experimented with a variety of organisations, finding his feet in the first year of his position. In some months he gathered together all news from the Low Countries under a single header; in others he distinguishes news from the “United Provinces” and the “Spanish (and Walloon) Netherlands”.⁴⁸ From 1691 he continues to separate the two states, and in nine volumes he also distinguishes news from “the land of Liège”.⁴⁹ In

47 *EM*, 3/3 (1692), pp. 156–198 and 3/4, pp. 204–224. In *EM*, 13/2 (1702), pp. 101–118, the aftermath of this affair is reported. On the unrest of 1692 see L.J. Moerland, ‘De dikke pofgans tegen de witte ganzen: Kroniek van een machtsstrijd in Goes in 1692’, *Historisch Jaarboek voor Zuid- en Noord-Beveland (HJZB)*, 19 (1993), pp. 65–77 and F. Ossewaarde, ‘Het prestige van het Goese baljuwsambt en van de personen die het bekleedden, 1582–1795’, *HJZB*, 15 (1989), pp. 5–39. The letter from a Goessenaar to his friend in Amsterdam, discussed by Moerland in his article, is also found copied in the *EM* (corresponding with pamphlet number 13794 in the pamphlet catalogue of W.P.C. Knuttel). Moerland does not cite the location of the pamphlet and cites the letter carelessly in his footnotes (numbers 12 and 13).

48 See e.g. *EM*, 1/1 (1690), pp. 79, 154, 223, 237.

49 There was news concerning Liège in 1691, 1694, 1698–1700 and 1702–1705. A few times the names of Dutch provinces are also used as section headers: “Holland” in *EM*, 1/4 (1690), p. 153, and “Zeeland” in *EM*, 13/2 (1702), p. 101.

1695–1696 and 1701 he even distinguished news from the Spanish and French Netherlands.⁵⁰ The second editor continued the distinction between the Dutch Republic and the Spanish Netherlands until April 1708.⁵¹ The last six volumes of the *Europische Mercurius*—from 1751 onwards, without the editors' initials—also separate the “Austrian Netherlands” and the “United Provinces”.⁵² It is noteworthy that in 1756 the term “United Provinces” is changed to “United Netherlands”. This could mean that the second half of 1756 saw the arrival of a new anonymous editor.⁵³

The editors of the *Europische Mercurius* focus in their other news sections primarily on reports from neighbouring states. This is not a surprise, because during the first half of the eighteenth century the neighbours of the Dutch Republic—the courts of Paris, Vienna and London—set the tone of European politics. The British Isles, combining Great Britain and Ireland, take up the largest proportion of foreign news content in the *Europische Mercurius*. This is especially the result of the interest in the British Isles on the part of the second editor (1707–June 1718) and to a lesser extent the fourth editor (July 1727–June 1737). The role of William III of Orange as King of England, Scotland and Ireland, and Stadtholder in the Dutch Republic from 1689 until 1702 thus contributed only a little to the coverage of British affairs.⁵⁴ In 1707 the second editor of the *Europische Mercurius* immediately adapted his geographical divisions after the parliamentary union between England and Scotland. In July of that year “J.C.” wrote an—otherwise unusual—justification concerning the organisation of the news content:

Now that the Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland has been realised, so it is demanded that the organisation of our compilations will henceforth be described under the header of *Great Britain*; although

50 The “French Netherlands” are found as header in *EM*, 6/1 (1695), p. 131; 7/1 (1696), p. 93 and 7/2, p. 61; 12/1 (1701), p. 277. These reports concern news from Cambrai, Courtrai, Arras, Lille and Tournai.

51 In *EM*, 18/1 (1707), p. 313 (May) he uses the header “Netherlands” already.

52 In *EM*, 62/2 (1751), p. 251 (October) the header “States Brabant” is used.

53 This issue diverges greatly from the previous, including the absence of marginal subjects headings, which were introduced by the editors only recently in previous issues.

54 The extensive report on the invasion of England by Stadtholder-King William III is placed in *EM*, 2/1 (1691), pp. 110–166 under the header “United Netherlands”; as are reports in *EM*, 8/1 (1697), pp. 168, 205, 224–239, concerning a pamphlet which urges for the reinstatement of James II as king. The news on a conspiracy against William's life is placed in *EM*, 7/1 (1696), pp. 192–224, under a header in which both countries are named; and his death in 1702 is placed in *EM*, 13/1 (1702), pp. 190–222 and pp. 224–254, under the sections discussing English and Dutch reports.

we will maintain distinctions between the occurrences within each kingdom, and the events which have passed in England will always receive priority (...).⁵⁵

Previously England, Scotland and Ireland had always required separate sections in the *Europische Mercurius*, with an understandable concentration on the court in London. Until 1708 the second editor also maintained Ireland as a distinct section, but afterwards news from this territory too fell under the single British header.⁵⁶

The first editor enjoyed splitting German and Italian reports into as many distinct headers as possible. In German lands he was easily accommodated in doing so, given that all principalities of the Holy Roman Empire had received sovereign rights at the Peace of Westphalia (1648). The summative header “Germany” continued to be employed, but “E.v.” reserved this header exclusively for news from Habsburg Vienna. From his other German subdivisions one can gather that he possessed a good grasp of the German political landscape, which must have been bewildering even to contemporaries. Sometimes “E.v.” adopted the location of the princely court as a header, such as “Wolfenbüttel”, rather than the name of the state (in this case, “Braunschweig”).⁵⁷ Altogether “E.v.” employed around thirty-five different German headers, ranging from a single report of four lines from “Bergsland” or two reports of five or six lines from “East-Frisia” to many pages devoted to larger German territories such as “Cologne”, “Upper Rhine”, “Rhine”, “Bavaria” and “Saxony”.⁵⁸

The territories of the Hohenzollerns received a distinct classification as “Prussia” only at the start of the editorship of “A.L.” in 1737. The first editor had maintained a distinction between the County of Brandenburg and the Duchy of Prussia around Königsberg, even after the accession of Frederick I as King of Prussia (1701). His successors also integrated these territories under the header

55 Quote in Dutch: “De Unie der twee Koningryken van Engeland en Schotland nu voltrokken zynde; zo vereischt de ordre dat wy onze verhandelingen in ’t generaal, voortaan onder de Hoofdnaam van *Groot Brittanjen* begrypen; met onderscheid nogtans van de byzonderheden in elk Ryk: zullende de gepasseerde zaken van Engeland altyd de voorrang hebben (...).” *EM*, 18/2 (1707), p. 64.

56 In 1702–1703 and in 1706 there is no header for Ireland and in 1704 there is no header for Scotland. In *EM*, 62/2 (1751), p. 242, 65/1 (1754), pp. 64, 135, 190, 247 and 65/2, p. 251 and 66/2 (1755), p. 236 Ireland returns as a separate header, and Scotland returns once in *EM*, 65/1 (1754), p. 248, alongside the usual section concerning Great Britain.

57 *EM*, 13/1 (1702), p. 263.

58 But it does depend on the manner of counting. Sometimes “E.v.” used the capitals “Berlin” and “Leipzig” alongside headers for “Brandenburg” and “Saxony”.

“Germany”.⁵⁹ The fourth editor combined all Swiss and Turkish news under the “Germany” header, which explains the absence of reports from Switzerland and Turkey for the years 1727–1737 in the figure above. I have therefore also chosen to use the general term “Central Europe” as a classification in the table. This is further justified by the lack of systematic headers provided by the editors of the *Europische Mercurius* for the border regions of the Holy Roman Empire and the lands of the Austrian Habsburgs. Given that large territories like Hungary and Bohemia are included in “Central Europe” it is difficult to compare the percentage of news content from this classification with that from Great Britain and France. The substantial attention paid by the fifth editor (1737–1750) to “Central Europe” (25.75 %) is nevertheless significant. Perhaps “A.L.” had a personal interest in German news, but it seems more likely that this deviation is due more to the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748).

The classification of news from powerful “France” will have caused little trouble for the editors of the *Europische Mercurius*, even though the borders of this country were not stable during the publication of the Mercury. The European wars taking place until 1714 unexpectedly did not see an increase in coverage of French affairs, even though French aggression was stated by editor “E.V.” to have been a motivation for the launch of the *Europische Mercurius* in 1690.⁶⁰ France did occupy a considerable portion of news content during the editorship of Arminius (July 1718 until June 1727), totalling 20.75 %, and coinciding in part with the regency of the Duke of Orléans (1715–1723). His domestic and foreign policy is detailed extensively, together with the financial policies of the Scottish banker John Law, who endeavoured to stabilise the French budget. It is possible that Arminius was more interested himself in French affairs than other editors, but other explanations for this coverage, like the availability of many relevant sources, could also be likely.

4 Geographical Divisions: the Other Territories

Most reports published in the *Europische Mercurius* on other countries originated from the Italian states, with a particular attention to the Papal States. This is especially remarkable during the tenure of the first editor, “E.V.”, whose use of the header “Italy” is practically synonymous with the Papal States. In February 1690 he coupled news from Savoy with reports from Switzerland, but

59 Until 1740 this header was combined with Poland. During the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) the editor even used separate headers for “Upper” and “Lower Silesia”.

60 See the first lines of the statement “To the reader” in *EM*, 1/1 (1690).

afterwards Savoy was always presented as a distinct heading, generally following or preceding news from the Italian city-states.⁶¹ “E.V.” devoted more news to Italy, Savoy and Piedmont than all Central European territories combined. Perhaps he wished to inform his Protestant readers at home extensively on the politics of Rome; or he thought to interest potential Catholic customers with plentiful Catholic news from the curia. The Papal States, where many foreign courts maintained embassies and representatives, continued to play a prominent role in European news provision during the eighteenth century. However, the second editor of the *Europische Mercurius*, “J.C.”, had less interest in Italy, combining Papal news and reports from Italian city-states under the combined header “Italy”. From 1712 onwards “J.C.” devoted barely any space to the Italian Peninsula. While there was no change in the Papacy during his tenure as editor, which always caused other editors to ruminate at great length on the affairs of the Vatican, this cannot explain the glaring absence of Italian news. It is possible that anti-Catholicism on the part of “J.C.” or a disruption in the news supply played a role. Whatever the cause, his successors paid greater attention to Italy, more out of curiosity than admiration of Rome, which continued to be observed from the Dutch Republic with distrust.

Coverage of news from the Iberian Peninsula, always classified under the headings of “Spain” and “Portugal”, remained relatively stable until the arrival of the fifth editor of the *Europische Mercurius* in 1737. “A.L.” devoted only around 2% of the serial to Iberian affairs. Coverage of Spanish news topped Italian reports only during the editorship of “J.C.” (1707 until June 1718), when the two regions covered respectively 6.67% and 6.42% of the total. The first editor introduced the heading “Catalonia” during the Nine Years’ War as well as the War of the Spanish Succession. During the former conflict he discussed largely the progress of the war from the perspective of the Catalonian capital, Barcelona, and during the next war reports concentrated on the sojourn in the city of the Habsburg pretender to the Spanish crown, Charles III (later Emperor Charles VI).⁶² Portugal, as befitted its status in the European balance of power, occupied only a modest position in the *Europische Mercurius*. Before 1751 coverage of Portugal was rarely more than 1%.

61 *EM*, 1/1 (1690), p. 123. The other high-ranking Italian city-states for which headers were occasionally used are “Lombardy”, “Venice”, “Naples”, “Milan” and “Mantua”.

62 “Catalonia” was a separate section in *EM*, 6/2 (1695), pp. 70, 113; 8/2 (1697), p. 117; 16/2 (1705), pp. 230, 277; 17/1 (1706), pp. 207, 247, 286. Aragon and Valencia are also used a few times. See *EM*, 17/1 (1706), p. 207 (together with Catalonia) and p. 247; after the conquest of Barcelona these territories also declared for Charles.

Coverage of Northern European territories concerned predominantly Sweden and Denmark, of which Sweden received by far the most attention.⁶³ During the tenure of the first editor both countries were barely mentioned, a fact for which “E.V.” apologised explicitly on several occasions, often using the plentiful news on the War of the Spanish Succession as an excuse. Northern Europe was nevertheless engulfed in war during this period: the Great Northern War of 1700–1721, a conflict of considerable importance for the Dutch Republic, given the prominence of Dutch trade in the Baltic region. The two following editors clearly realised this, and offered extensive coverage of the war. Between 1710 and 1725 they combined news from Sweden and Denmark under the header “Northern crowns”, which also contained Russian and Polish news for some time.⁶⁴ Perhaps they considered this a suitable solution to the problem of placing international military news under a particular national header. The significance of the war also explains the relatively high percentages of content related to Scandinavia during the tenures of the second (5.43 %) and third editors (8.17 %).

Coverage of Russia—until 1724 under the heading “Muscovy”—only became a serious feature in the *Europische Mercurius* after the Russian victory against the Swedes at Poltava (1709). Hitherto only the first embassy of Tsar Peter the Great to Central and Western Europe (1697–1698) and the Russian struggle against the Turks had been worthy of any reporting. Reports on “Turkey” were unsurprisingly plentiful from the start of the *Europische Mercurius* given the lengthy wars in the Balkans and the Mediterranean during the final decade of the seventeenth century. This war, the Great Turkish War, placed the Turks literally at the centre of Europe, but in the eyes of contemporaries that did not turn the Turks into Europeans. The *Europische Mercurius* often typifies Turks as “heathens”, who are to be marvelled at for their curious political system.⁶⁵ Interest in the partially Calvinist Switzerland was only significant in the first decade of publication. But as stated earlier, the coverage of Switzerland under the fourth editor of the Mercury is incomplete in the figure given that he placed all Swiss news under the classification of “Germany”. In 1699 and 1700 the first editor sometimes placed news from the sovereign principality of Neuchâtel—which came to the Hohenzollerns in 1707—under “Switzerland”, but otherwise as a distinct heading. Geneva is only distinguished as a separate heading in 1696.

63 In *EM*, 62/2 (1751), p. 219, the header “Finland” appears once.

64 The editor only used the term “Northern crowns” twice in the first volume. See *EM*, 1/1 (1690), pp. 78, 201.

65 See e.g. *EM*, 5/1 (1694), pp. 7, 104; 7/1 (1696), p. 143; 8/1 (1697), p. 206.

The *Europische Mercurius* reported only sporadically on affairs outside Europe. From the very beginning it had clearly been intended to offer such global coverage, given that the end of the subtitle the editor stated that news would be reported “even from various other regions in other parts of the world”. Yet if we look at reports on non-European territories then we find that there is usually a clear connection with the European mainland. News under headers of “Barbary”, “Algiers” and “Tunis” concern largely the obstruction of European shipping by North African pirates in the Mediterranean. From China the main subject was invariably the struggles of the Catholic mission, while headers of “West and East Indies” primarily concern news on European territories in those regions.⁶⁶ During a few years, especially in 1738, “Persia” comes up as a heading. The increasing number of pages devoted to non-European areas during the final years of the *Europische Mercurius* can largely be attributed to an expanding news-flow from the American colonies.

5 Conclusion

Most columns of the *Europische Mercurius* were filled throughout its publication with reports from the Netherlands and its neighbouring states. But the Dutch reading public was clearly also extensively informed on other European regions. Besides the many reports from Great Britain, the Holy Roman Empire and France, particular attention was paid to Italian affairs. The geographical divisions used in the *Europische Mercurius* are testament to a thorough editorial grasp of shifting eighteenth-century European international relations, even if some editors conglomerated various territories in order to maintain an orderly presentation of material; although this does not apply for the volumes published by the first editor and the six volumes from 1751–1756 published anonymously. The first editor especially organised most reports from small principalities under distinct headings.

The quantitative statistics presented in the table above are too broad to reflect accurately European developments of the early eighteenth century. Further textual analysis of the *Europische Mercurius* will be required to frame the statistics in a more detailed perspective.⁶⁷ The statistics do give some insight into the particular geographical preferences of the editors in their coverage of European affairs.

66 The *EM* never used “South Africa” (or the Cape) as a heading.

67 The underlying sixty-six charts are more suitable for this purpose, however, they cannot be published within the scope of this article.

6 Appendix: Explanation in Verse of the Title Page Engraving of the *Europische Mercurius* of 1726

ELUCIDATION, for the UNDERSTANDING of the MERCURY-TITLE, of the year 1726⁶⁸

READER

Hello Mercury! Why to sleep?
How are things in Europe?
Will it be war, or will it be peace?
You're nodding off, you lazy swine!
Wake up, Mercury! Are you dreaming?
Have you not established,
How all the state's affairs will go?

MERCURY

What now! What sorry cause
Disturbs my sweet rest?
I was down with closed eyes and ears
Exhausted from my travels through Europe
When a sweet sleep fell upon me
And sent me off to dreams

READER

Tell, what did you see?

MERCURY

If you'll allow me, I'll wring
My eyes, and afterwards describe
All that opened up to me
I saw a woman, not from this earth
Heavenly, dressed in white
She stood, all prepared
A torch in hand
Burning a pile of weaponry
I thought thereof, this must be Peace
Behold the hanging olive branch
But to the other side of lovely Peace
There appeared a cunning, cruel figure
Equipped with helmet, blade and spear

68 See for the engraving figure 9.

Ready to assault the beautiful lady
 Then a chalk white unicorn
 Arrived before my eyes
 Offering, if you believe it
 Brave resistance to the beast
 Preventing an uproar of peace
 A lion, known to set its claws
 On disturbing villains, joined in
 And chose the side of peace
 It was then my dream began to blur
 Two stars, shooting across the sky
 The one after the other
 And I saw in the distance Segovia
 And further still many ships
 Of which I did not grasp much
 What it all means
 I'll leave to your pains
 Here you go, do your best
 My dream is done
 Adieu, farewell, I'm off to the Baltic
 Perhaps I'll bring something else from there
 READER
 Good journey, safe harbour.⁶⁹

69 In Dutch, the last sentence is "Goe-reys, goe-ree". Jan Goeree (1670–1731) is the author of this text. The 1713 *EM* mentions 'J. Goeree' as the engraver of the illustrations.

The Glorification of Three Prussian Sovereigns in the *Europische Mercurius* (1690–1756)*

A few decades after the Peace of Westphalia, the European powers were fighting again. A considerable rise of the press and an increase of pamphlets with political comments and justifications, from all sides, accompanied the wars of Louis XIV. In this period, the political mercures were a new category created to inform the reading public about international affairs. Johannes Weber calls this genre ‘die Urgestalt der politischen Zeitschrift’.¹ He specifies several German periodicals, including the *Europäischer Mercurius oder Götter-Both etc.*, which was only published in 1689–1690.² Perhaps that mercure—or in any case, its title—was one of the examples to the Dutch editor who started a chronicle in 1690 with the same heading, but in Dutch: the *Europische Mercurius* (*EM*).³ Since 1651, the Dutch public had already been acquainted with a similar chronicle: the *Hollandsche Mercurius*. However, the new chronicle was far more comprehensive than its predecessor. The main purpose of the *EM* was to supply information about the most important developments in the European states. Most of the attention was devoted to the Netherlands and its neighbouring countries. The *EM* started as a quarterly, and after three volumes, it was published biannually. This mercure was printed in Amsterdam until July, 1749, and afterwards in The Hague. At least six different editors, in succession, were responsible for the contents. Only their initials are printed on the title pages, apart from the last six volumes (1751–1756), which are completely anonymous. Until now, two editors have been identified.⁴

* This chapter was earlier published in Jürgen Luh, Vinzenz Czech and Bert Becker (eds.), *Preussen, Deutschland und Europa 1701–2001* (Groningen: INOS, 2003), pp. 145–165.

1 Johannes Weber, *Götter-Both Mercurius: Die Urgeschichte der politischen Zeitschrift in Deutschland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1994), pp. 23–24, 52.

2 The German *Europäische Mercurius* was forbidden because Samuel and Esaias von Pufendorf had been slandered. Ibidem, pp. 125–139.

3 The subtitle varied. The first one was: *Behelzende Al het voornaamste 't geen, zo omtrent de zaaken van Staat als Oorlog, in alle de Koningryken en Landen van Europa, en ook zelfs in verscheidenen Gewesten van d'andere Deelen der Wereld, is voorgevallen*. In 1740, the main title was changed into *Nederlandsch gedenkboek of Europische Mercurius*. The Dutch *EM* can be consulted in some German libraries, e.g. in Berlin and Göttingen.

4 The third editor was Laurens Arminius (July, 1718–June, 1727), while the fourth was most likely

In this contribution, I investigate the way in which the Hohenzollern estates were described in the *EM*. What news about Brandenburg-Prussia did the editors select between 1690 and 1756, and how did they appraise the country's sovereigns? Prussia was a growing power in the centre of Europe during the period in which the *EM* was published. Of course, it is interesting to examine whether or not the *EM*—a contemporary source from outside of Prussia—noticed Prussia's growing importance. During the seventeenth century, relations between Brandenburg and the Dutch Republic were friendly or at least neutral. The two Protestant states were allies in the struggle against France until 1713, and the reigning dynasties had family ties. Yet, after the death of King-Stadtholder William III (1702), the Frisian House of Nassau-Dietz engaged in a long dispute with the Hohenzollerns about William's inheritance. Therefore, this paper will also address the issue of whether and how the *EM* reacted.⁵

The structure of this essay corresponds to the reigns of Brandenburg-Prussia's three successive sovereigns during the publication of the *EM*. It is well-known that the first, Frederick III, became Elector in 1688, two years before the first volume of the Dutch chronicle in question was published. His reign as a crowned King began in 1701 and lasted until 1713. That period was followed by the reign of his successor, Frederick William I, from 1713–1740. Of the third ruler, Frederick II the Great, we can only describe the years until 1756, because the *EM* stopped in that year. Information about the placement of the Prussian reports in the *mercure* will precede the analysis of the news.

1 Brandenburg-Prussia at the Source

News concerning the Hohenzollern estates is not easily found in the *EM*. Only the first editor (E.V.) presented information under the heading of 'Branden-

Johannes Haverkamp (July, 1727–June, 1737). The other editors: E.V. (1690–1706), J.C. (1707–June, 1718) and A.L. (July, 1737–1750). More information about the Dutch *EM*: Joop W. Koopmans, 'De *Europische Mercurius* (1690–1756) getypeerd', *Historisch Tijdschrift Groniek* 33/148 (2000), pp. 360–373, and idem, 'De presentatie van het nieuws in de *Europische Mercurius* (1690–1756)', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman* 23/3 (2000), pp. 117–133.

5 Coloured but still useful: Goswin Josef Rive, *Schets der staatkundige betrekkingen tusschen de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden en het koninkrijk Pruisen, tot het huwelijk van prins Willem v (1701–1767)* (Amsterdam: C.A. Spin & zoon, 1873). Surveys of the concerning Dutch history, in English and German respectively: Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477–1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Horst Lademacher, *Geschichte der Niederlande: Politik, Verfassung, Wirtschaft* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983).

burg', in eleven of his seventeen editing years (1690–1706). In January, 1703, he used 'Brandenburg' as a separate heading for the last time. In 1705, he chose 'Berlin' three times.⁶ In the beginning, the heading 'Prussia' was reserved—as could be expected—for news about the Duchy around Königsberg. The volumes of 1690, 1693 and 1701 include a few reports concerning that estate. Generally, the first editor made a mess of the news from the German states by endlessly classifying it. 'Germany' was mainly used for the news and activities of the Habsburg court in Vienna. Many other parts of the Holy Roman Empire were referred to as separate states, as was Cleves, for example, in 1695.⁷

The next editors no longer used 'Brandenburg' as a heading. In 1707, the second editor (J.C.) used the heading 'Prussia' for the last time, in order to report information on the Duchy. Afterwards, all the news was classified under the heading 'Germany';⁸ until the fifth editor (A.L.) started halfway in 1737. He resumed the use of 'Prussia'.⁹ During the reign of Frederick the Great, the heading 'Prussia' became the usual indication for classifying news from *all* the Hohenzollern territories. From that period on, the *EM* allocated almost the same number of pages to Prussia as to Russia or Sweden. This number of pages amounts to approximately three percent of all the articles in the *EM* that are classified under the heading of a country during the editorship of A.L. (July, 1737–1750).¹⁰ The Silesian Wars of Frederick II led to the introduction of 'Silesia' as a separate heading. In 1741 and 1745, a distinction was even drawn between 'Upper' and 'Lower Silesia'. Perhaps A.L. wanted to show his neutrality in the conflict between Berlin and Vienna. Whatever the reason, his interest in the German countries was the greatest of all the editors. He devoted a quarter of his pages to the central parts of Europe, while the others' contributions fluctuated between ten and twenty percent at most.¹¹

6 In combination with 'Hanover'.

7 *EM*, 6/1 (1695), p. 91. Since 1614, this estate officially belonged to the Hohenzollern territories.

8 The third and the fourth editors may have had the intention to simplify the classification. The last one overreacted by even including Switzerland and Turkey under the heading 'Germany'.

9 Until 1740, the heading was 'Poland Prussia'.

10 After 'Germany' (the Habsburg court), Prussia had the highest percentage of the other German states, half as many more than the headings 'Bavaria' and 'the Rhineland'. It is too complicated to give percentages of the other editors because of the different classifications.

11 Of that part, almost thirteen percent was classified under 'Prussia' and four percent under 'Silesia', 'Upper' and 'Lower Silesia'. These figures also include Hungary as a Habsburg estate.

2 The Reign of Elector-King Frederick III/I (1690–1713): Cursory Reporting

Opinions about Frederick III/I—often based upon his grandson's judgement—have been quite negative. The criticism was that he was more interested in ceremonial affairs than in daily politics. Later on, Frederick's policy was considered more from the perspective of time, resulting in a more positive opinion. Nevertheless, historiography has continued to have some reservations about this sovereign.¹²

Until 1699, the *EM*'s first editor (E.V.) presented a rather neutral image of Frederick. After the Elector's military actions in Poland at the end of the seventeenth century, however, one finds the first praise. On the other hand, it is curious that the second editor (J.C.) completely forgot to mention the death of the first Prussian king, which occurred in February, 1713. Only in the June report did he describe that fact briefly, choosing to ignore a retrospective view of Frederick's reign.¹³ The most likely explanation for this omission is that J.C. was preoccupied with the on-going peace negotiations after the War of the Spanish Succession. However, this explanation is not totally satisfactory, as far more trivial news about the life of the deceased king and his estates had been described in the years before. In order to get an impression of the scattered news, I return to reports about Brandenburg and Prussia in the first volumes of the *EM*.

In January, 1690, the first *EM* report about the Elector was a message concerning his appointment as Companion of the Order of the Garter.¹⁴ The next topic outweighed this appointment in importance: the absence of the Brandenburg and Saxony Electors at the election and coronation of the Emperor's son as Roman King. The official excuse for their absence, which was transmitted to the imperial envoy in Berlin, was the Elector's own inauguration in Prussia at the same time. The editor doubts whether this was the most important reason. He considers that the Electors did not wish to attend such elections and coronations before the Emperor's death. Their visiting could lead to the idea that the

12 Hans van Koningsbrugge, Jürgen Luh and Ilja Nieuwland, 'Sparta oder Spree-Athen? Die auswärtige Politik Preußens im Zeitalter Friedrichs III./I. von 1688 bis 1713' in: Gerd Barotschek etc., *Sophie Charlotte und ihr Schloß: Ein Musenhof des Barock in Brandenburg-Preußen* (Munich etc.: Prestel, 1999), p. 17.

13 *EM*, 24/1 (1713), pp. 315–316. In 1705, the first editor described the death of Frederick's wife more extensively. See *EM*, 16/1 (1705), pp. 111–112, 203–209.

14 Both under the heading 'England'. *EM*, 1/1 (1690), pp. 8–9 and 1/2, pp. 173–175 (description of the ceremony).

imperial title was hereditary, similar to its compeer in France.¹⁵ Reports about the outstanding reception of the Elector in Königsberg, and the inauguration festivities in that city, appeared in the following months. Some Polish envoys had attended the spectacular celebrations, which included fireworks and fighting between wild animals. A peculiar detail in these reports is a message about the Elector laying the foundation stone of the new Reformed church in Königsberg.¹⁶ Such pieces of news must have been deemed interesting to Protestant readers in the Dutch Republic.

In the volumes following 1690, reports about the contacts between the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony are a recurring topic. Frederick informed his Saxon colleague about the peace conferences in the Dutch Republic, they exchanged visits and they discussed the war against France and matters of succession in the Empire.¹⁷ In 1691, various articles deal with the marriage of the Elector's sister to the Duke of Courland, the celebration of Frederick's 35th birthday, and the payment of a poll-tax in Brandenburg—even by the Elector and his family.¹⁸ The volume of 1693 covers a small dispute between Brandenburg and the Swedish king; in 1694, extreme flooding near the Oder is reported.¹⁹ In the next year, 1695, the Elector's birthday party, attended by the important Danckelmann family, is again described. On that occasion, Frederick forced Everard von Danckelmann to accept an appointment as his first secretary. Until then, Everard had refused to fulfil the Elector's request. The editor praises his modesty, because 'the whole world aspires glory'.²⁰ In 1696, the *EM* continues the Prussian news with the election of the Elector's brother, Albrecht, as Grandmaster of the Hospitaller Order; in addition, it also discusses the subject of Frederick's letter to the Duke of Savoy—in reaction to the peace between the Duke and the French King. The editor states that the Elector was disappointed about the fact that the Duke had left the coalition opposing the Sun King.²¹ After these reports, in 1697, under the heading 'Brandenburg', the arrival of the Russian Tsar Peter the Great incognito in Königsberg is presented.²²

15 *EM*, 1/1 (1690), pp. 18–21.

16 *EM*, 1/1 (1690), pp. 193, 206–208 (a part of the news is derived from a text written to an unnamed distinguished person in Holland); 1/2 (1690), pp. 97–98.

17 *EM*, 2/2 (1691), p. 71; 3/1 (1692), pp. 54–55, 117–118 and 3/2, p. 38.

18 *EM*, 2/2 (1691), pp. 71–72, 109–112 and 2/3, p. 52.

19 The dispute concerned the transfer of the Prussian city Holland to Sweden. *EM*, 4/1 (1693), p. 90; 5/1 (1694), pp. 109–110.

20 *EM*, 6/2 (1695), pp. 34–37.

21 *EM*, 7/1 (1696), p. 151 and 7/2, pp. 136–137.

22 *EM*, 8/1 (1697), pp. 281–282, 317. A recent description: Jürgen Luh, 'The Using of Peter

From 1698–1700, the main topic concerning Brandenburg proved to be the country's successful assault on the Polish free town of Elbing, which is presently known as Elbląg. The Elector wished to conquer this city to collect an outstanding debt. Several documents and a beautiful picture of Elbing accompany the relevant accounts. We may conclude that the conquest impressed the editor. He glorifies Frederick in his account, as I already mentioned in the beginning of this section. The recruitment practices used by the Elector to raise his army are especially praised. The editor's phrase, that people had considered Brandenburg an important power in Europe for many years already, is significant. Yet, in his opinion, this importance was certainly true during Frederick's reign.²³ In 1700, the problem of Elbing was temporarily solved. In that year's volume, the editor praises the Elector again, although more implicitly.²⁴ In the next year, 1701, the *EM* properly observes that the Elector's elevation to become King *in* Prussia was the most important Prussian news. In his description of the coronation, the editor is aware of the subtle distinction between King *in* Prussia and King *of* Prussia. He also mentions people's doubts concerning the recognition of the new King in the rest of Europe. At first, the French court in particular reacted negatively to this elevation. The editor himself saw no difficulties with the new title: on the contrary, he considered the King's coronation to be an important event, as depicted by the fact that he also published several letters of congratulation from other states, along with an attractive print of the ceremony.²⁵

On 18 March 1702, the Dutch Stadtholder, and British King, William III died. The *EM* reports that Frederick directly showed his genuine sadness about his colleague's death. Yet his claim to William's inheritance immediately accompanied this reaction. In April, the chronicle reports extensively about this claim; in May, on Frederick's encounter with a few Dutch delegates from the States General in Wesel, a city not far from the Dutch border.²⁶ It is surprising that the edi-

the Great's Visit to Prussia by Frederick III of Brandenburg', in: Carel Horstmeier etc., *Around Peter the Great: Three centuries of Russian-Dutch relations* (Groningen: Instituut voor Midden- en Oost-Europese Studies, 1997), pp. 24–28.

23 *EM*, 9/2 (1698), pp. 274–288; 10/1 (1699), pp. 25–26: 'Brandenburg was al lang considerabel geweest onder Mogendheden van Europa; maar men kan zeggen, dat het nooit meer was geweest als sedert de regeering van den tegenwoordigen Keurvorst.'

24 *EM*, 11/1 (1700), pp. 173–174; 11/1 (1701), p. 6. More backgrounds: Van Koningsbrugge, Luh and Nieuwland, 'Sparta oder Spree-Athen?', p. 28.

25 *EM*, 12/1 (1701), pp. 81–85, 98, 161, 201–205 (Great Britain, Poland, the Emperor, Switzerland), 285–289.

26 *EM*, 13/1 (1702), pp. 244–245, 272–273, 285–286. Still useful on this topic: Georg Drechsler,

tor does not reveal their topics of conversation. Yet we know from other sources that Frederick and the Dutch envoys had been negotiating about William's inheritance.²⁷ It seems even more remarkable that the editor does not dispute the Prussian claim either. He only continues with reports on Frederick's activities, such as, for example, his visit to the Dutch Republic, in July, 1702, after the King had besieged Kaiserswerth. The editor states that the Dutch authorities pleasantly received Frederick in The Hague. The King made clear that he intended to visit Holland incognito, as he wanted a stay without ceremonial obligations. The Dutch authorities respected that wish; they treated him as being equal to William III. The editor explains that the King considered himself almost a Dutchman, as his mother, Louise Henriette, was born in the Republic. He also records Frederick's friendly visit to William's nephew, Johan Willem Friso, Prince of Nassau-Dietz: the heir wished by William himself. Because of the fine ambience during this meeting, many contemporaries expected an amicable settlement for their differences about the inheritance. With respect to this matter, the *EM* refers to the titles of two relevant pamphlets. The first is a Prussian justification of Frederick's claim to the inheritance; the second is a reply by Nassau-Dietz to the Prussian publication. The editor closes his report about the King's stay in Holland with an account of Frederick's voyage to Amsterdam on a yacht owned by the deceased William.²⁸ At that time, nobody—including the *EM*'s editor—could realize that it would take thirty years before the matter of succession would be resolved.²⁹

Why did the *EM* react in such a neutral way to the problem of succession? A few additional remarks will assist us in answering this question. Firstly, the Hohenzollern claim to the inheritance was not unreal. It was based upon the will of the former Dutch Stadtholder Frederick Henry (of Orange Nassau), grandfather of the erstwhile Prussian King, and also of William III (of Orange-Nassau). In other words: Frederick I of Prussia and William III were cousins.

Der Streit um die oranische Erbschaft zwischen König Friedrich I. von Preussen und dem Hause Nassau-Dietz und sein Einfluss auf die preussische Politik (1702–1732) (Leipzig: Buchdruckerei F. Peter Nachf, 1913).

- 27 The deputies also expressed their dissatisfaction about the King's immediate capture of Lingen and Moers, a part of William's inheritance. Drechsler, *Der Streit*, p. 13.
- 28 *EM*, 13/2 (1702), pp. 149–151. The Prussian envoy, Wolfgang, Baron von Schmettau, very probably wrote the first pamphlet. Willem Arthur van Rappard, 'De aanspraken van Frederik I van Pruisen op de erfenis van koning-stadhouder Willem III', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 79 (1966), pp. 129–141, at p. 134.
- 29 Some relevant documents in the *EM*: *EM*, 24/2 (1713), pp. 41–41 (about the Principality of Orange in the peace treaty between France and Prussia); 43/2 (1732), pp. 45–59 (final treaty).

Nonetheless, as mentioned above, William had designated his Frisian nephew, Johan Willem Friso, to be his sole heir, which included, for example, the title of 'Prince of Orange-Nassau'. However, although nothing had yet been arranged, Prussia's dynasty also assumed this title of 'Prince of Orange' immediately after William's death, probably to emphasise its claim to the succession.³⁰ Frederick even hoped to be appointed Stadtholder of the vacant Dutch provinces. In short, the Dutch States-General, as executors of William's will, had to handle a complicated matter of succession. Furthermore, they had to operate very carefully because of international politics. During the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), the Dutch Republic needed the support of Prussia. For that reason, the Dutch authorities could not offend Frederick, although none of them wished to have him as a new Dutch Stadtholder. However, the relevant Dutch provinces also refused to elevate the Prince of Nassau-Dietz to the position of William's successor. Thus, the matter of succession was also mingled with problematic domestic relationships within the Dutch Republic at that time. Returning to our original question, I presume that the *EM*'s editor remained so scrupulously impartial on the subject because of all these legal and political complexities. In addition, it is not inconceivable that he was an adherent of the large political faction in Holland that opposed Johan Willem Friso's dynasty. It is also possible that he did not take sides because he was only afraid of losing readers in anti-Orangist Holland.³¹

During the remaining time of Frederick's reign, the *EM* reported some of his military victories, such as the conquest of Spanish Guelders (1703). The King's acquisition of the Swiss Neuchâtel (1707) is also dealt with. Furthermore, some of his and the Crown Prince's travels are discussed,³² such as, for example, Frederick's next visit to the Dutch Republic, in 1706. The account of this visit is even more superficial than most of the reports of the 1702 visit. The King spoke a few times with delegates from the States General about unknown subjects,³³ yet we may assume that the on-going matter of succession was one of the topics. In 1707, the second *EM* editor (J.C.) took over the editing job from E.V. On the

30 This practice was confirmed in the final agreement of 1732. In 1707, the *EM* reports—without comment—the fact that the Prussian King's first-born grandson was given the title of Prince of Orange. *EM*, 18/2 (1707), pp. 309–310.

31 Drechsler, *Der Streit*, pp. 29–33.

32 Spanish Guelders was claimed by the Dutch Republic as well. *EM*, 14/1 (1703), p. 128 and 14/2, pp. 315–316; 16/1 (1705), p. 78; 17/2 (1706), pp. 46–48 (marriage of the Crown Prince); 18/2 (1707), pp. 278–284. Neuchâtel was obtained along with the county Valengin. Backgrounds: Drechsler, *Der Streit*, pp. 47–60.

33 *EM*, 17/2 (1706), pp. 155–156. In the previous year, the visit to Berlin by the commander of the allied forces, Marlborough, was described in the same way: *EM*, 16/1 (1705), pp. 75–76.

whole, the second editor's attention to Prussia and its King remained limited.³⁴ The concise description of Frederick's death illustrated this restricted interest. The King's 1711 visit to The Hague, for deliberation with Johan Willem Friso on the matter of succession, was one of the news items he did mention. However, the talks were cancelled because the Frisian Stadtholder was drowned.³⁵

3 The Reign of King Frederick William I (1713–1740): Described in More Depth

The present image of Frederick William I, referred to as *der Soldatenkönig*, is characterised by terms such as 'militarism', 'sense of duty' and 'thrif'. He is considered to be one of the builders of modern Prussia, especially with regard to his efforts to increase the country's power by expanding and more intensively training his standing army. In most of the historical literature, this King is also praised for his financial and economic policies, which were extremely geared to the army's needs. In religious matters, Frederick William hoped for reconciliation between Lutheranism and Calvinism. With respect to his character, he could be a difficult person, partially due to his illnesses.³⁶

Which matters does the *EM* discuss concerning this King and his estates? Before answering this question, it is interesting to notice that this chronicle paid more serious attention to Frederick William than to his father. The son, for example, received a long necrology in the *mercure*, unlike Frederick I and most other contemporary European monarchs.³⁷ In July, 1740, a biography of nearly twenty-five pages was published in the chronicle—over and above the extensive descriptions of Frederick William's funeral and the structure of his army.³⁸ The *EM*'s editor does not mention the sources he used for this necrology. It is not inconceivable that he only adapted one or more foreign accounts or sim-

34 Still, it is useful to realize that the *EM* does cover the course of the wars in which Frederick participated, but this information is not placed in the articles concerning Prussia.

35 *EM*, 22/2 (1711), pp. 104, 153–156 (under the heading 'Netherlands'). Drechsler, *Der Streit*, pp. 60–66.

36 A few modern biographies: Heinz Kathe, *Der "Soldatenkönig": Friedrich Wilhelm I. 1688–1740: König in Preußen—Eine Biographie* (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1981), and Wolfgang Venohr, *Der Soldatenkönig: Revolutionär auf dem Thron* (Frankfurt am Main and Berlin: Ullstein, 1988).

37 For example, Peter the Great (Russia) was assigned a necrology of three pages, and Charles XII (Sweden) two pages. *EM*, 36/1 (1725), pp. 139–141; 30/1 (1719), pp. 81–83. Louis XIV (France) received no necrology at all.

38 *EM*, 51/2 (1740), pp. 33–38 (funeral), pp. 38–62 (biography), pp. 63–67 (army).

ply translated one such report. Whatever happened, the information must have been derived from a friendly source because the contents are very positive. This necrology is a good starting point to discuss the *EM*'s descriptions of Frederick William's career, as it consists of many judgements about the sovereign in question.

The necrology opens by praising the King's goals, as established at the beginning of his reign. Frederick William wished to have an outstanding army, a well-organised royal court, and a full treasury. Further he wanted the introduction of beneficial laws, the perfect functioning of legal officers in keeping order and peace in his estates, and the promotion of trade and industry. After this section, the biography covers Prussia's gains of the War of the Spanish Succession. These gains are mentioned here because the relevant peace was concluded at the beginning of Frederick William's reign. The editor admits only implicitly that the gains were actually due to the former King. The following item in the necrology is the enumeration of the King's routine duties. He always started very early in the morning, first reading incoming documents; after a few hours, he held conversations with his secretaries and generals; at ten o'clock, he went to the parade ground for other discussions; at noon, he took a meal, and afterwards, he went outside for a horse drive or a drive in an open coach; then, he was again engaged in state affairs for another two hours and, finally, in the evening, he met a select company to deliberate upon important matters for another three or four hours. This must have been the so-called *tabagium*, which was not only meant for conversation but also for relaxation. The editor's impression of this meeting is rather serious compared to our present knowledge.³⁹

The biography continues by listing some of the King's annual pleasures, and by presenting a description of his statue, character and skills. Most of the year he stayed in Potsdam. He changed this city into 'a second The Hague'. In his Potsdam residence, the King occasionally played chess with his generals, and he watched the card-playing—he never played himself. In spring, he took part in the heron hunt; during wintertime, the programme included the shooting of wild boar. With regard to his character, the text only mentions positive virtues. The King was humorous, vital, just, modest, and suchlike. He was a faithful husband and a good father, too. He possessed an excellent memory; therefore, it was best for people to speak the truth on all occasions. He knew, for example, all the names of his officers and he recognized many of the soldiers' faces. This was unpleasant enough for deserters during their lifetime, but also after-

39 Cf. Venohr, *Der Soldatenkönig*, pp. 126–130.

wards, as the King allowed the use of their dead bodies for anatomy lessons. Frederick William knew several languages; he favoured Dutch. His interest in the sciences and the world outside of Prussia was considerable. Once, he even planned to visit Gibraltar on board a Dutch ship. The editor also reports the well-known fact that the King belonged to the Calvinist Church. Nonetheless, Frederick William showed great respect for the Lutheran Church as well. In addition, he tolerated Roman Catholics in his estates. They were only forbidden to buy houses in Berlin. On the other hand, he had driven out two other religious groups, the Mennonites and Quakers, because they supposedly neglected their citizen's duties. Concerning the Jews, the King changed some of their privileges; yet they remained welcome in Prussia.

It would be futile to summarize the whole biography, as too many acts and reforms are mentioned in it. Nevertheless, the essence of the biography is clear: this King did much good for Prussia. He had indeed reformed justice, protected science, supported the poor, founded orphanages, and so on. Furthermore, Frederick William's policy had been a healthy one for Prussia's treasury, although few people precisely knew the extent of the country's wealth at the time of the King's death. He had improved the revenues of his domains in order to develop the country without substantially raising the taxes. He had built grain depots to prevent shortages and keep the prices low. His own household was plainly modest—the King was averse to the ceremonial. In this section of the necrology, the editor clearly wants to refute the many lies that were spread outside Prussia about the royal table's soberness. His remarks lead us to conclude that the author was familiar with negative opinions about Frederick William's economy. Yet it is probable that the editor wanted to contradict such views because he had the intention of publishing only a respectful account. Consequently, we have to observe that the necrology glorifies Frederick William to the extreme, compared with contemporaries' opinions, and present historiographic views, too.

Does this informative but uncritical biography, published by the *EM*'s fifth editor (A.L.), correspond with the other mercure articles about Frederick William? To answer this question, I return to the volumes concerning his reign, which were published by the three editors who preceded A.L. The interest in Prussia's second king did not increase immediately after his succession. In the 1713 volume, only the King's appointment of F.W. von Grumbkow, as head of Commerce, is reported. In the subsequent years, Prussia is mentioned a few times within the framework of the Great Nordic War (1700–1721) and the talks with Peter the Great during the Tsar's second visit to the West. In 1716, Frederick William presented his Russian colleague with an expensive yacht, which was built in the Dutch Republic. In exchange, the Tsar promised to send fifty

of his tallest citizens to Potsdam.⁴⁰ Nowadays, people smile about Frederick William's predilection for tall soldiers—and most likely they did in the eighteenth century as well. However, the *EM*'s second editor is not astonished about the Tsar's promise and the King's curious hobby. Later on, the fifth editor, in contrast, disapproves of Prussia's violent recruitment practices—even outside the country's borders—for this purpose. A.L. mentions a few incidents at the end of the King's reign, and he praises Frederick II's dismissal of the tall soldiers' regiment after Frederick William's death.⁴¹ During the Great Nordic War, the second editor correctly treats the matter of the maintenance of the Russian troops in Mecklenburg as being more serious than the subject of the King's tall soldiers. In 1718, another item mentioned is the King's recruitment of farmers for his estates. The farmer's sons should not be conscripted for the army. Three years afterwards, in 1721, Frederick William reconfirmed the non-conscription provision. This reconfirmation was necessary because some farmers had emigrated due to unjust conscription practices. The editor wonders whether this conscription pressure had been exerted with the King's consent.⁴²

During the editing period of Laurens Arminius (July, 1718–June, 1727) a new theme was introduced: the King's anxiety about the fate of Protestants both in and outside the Empire. During this time, the *EM* published Frederick William's concerned letters about, for example, the treatment of Calvinists in the Palatinate. The editor concludes that the Lutherans treated the Calvinists worse than the Roman Catholics. The Protestants in Piedmont and in Poland could count on the King's support and the Lutheran community in Salzburg was backed too. Although the Lutheran kings of the Scandinavian realms were also devoted to the Protestant case, Frederick William was the most zealous of all sovereigns that supported the Protestants. In 1727, the editor writes in his opening report: 'Again and again the King of Prussia has been too much disposed to the interest of the Religion (...)'.⁴³ In October, 1727, Johannes Haverkamp, the next editor, also concludes—after the publication of an anti-Prussian pamphlet—that the Roman Catholics considered the House of Brandenburg to be the main pillar of

40 *EM*, 24/2 (1713), pp. 121–122; 26/1 (1715), pp. 180–181, 274–275, 296–298; 27/2 (1716), pp. 283, 306–308. Concerning the tall soldiers: *EM*, 39/1 (1728), p. 300; 49/1 (1738), p. 188; 51/1 (1740), pp. 180, 241, 285; Helmut Schnitter, 'Die "langen Kerls" von Potsdam', *Militärsgeschichte*, 5 (1990), pp. 457–463.

41 *EM*, 51/2 (1740), p. 32.

42 *EM*, 28/1 (1717), p. 315 and 28/2, pp. 91–92; 29/1 (1718), pp. 180–182; 32/1 (1721), pp. 106–107.

43 *EM*, 30/2 (1719), pp. 49–51, 201–218; 31/1 (1720), pp. 13–15, 92–112; 33/1 (1722), pp. 81–83; 34/1 (1723), pp. 129–131 (under the heading 'Switzerland'), 266–268; 36/1 (1725), pp. 72–74, 83–86; 28/1 (1727), p. 11; 29/2 (1728), p. 137; 42/2 (1731), p. 230; 43/1 (1732), pp. 99–103, 132–134, 285 and 43/2, pp. 42–43; 45/1 (1734), pp. 225–229.

the Protestants. According to the pamphlet's authors, it would be good policy to divide the Protestants and to decrease Prussia's power.⁴⁴ In the following year, the *EM*'s editor categorically rejects a message in a Breslau newspaper, which was meant to discredit the Prussian King. Frederick William was supposed to have suppressed the Roman Catholics.⁴⁵ It is clear that the *EM* took the King's side in all these religious conflicts. Frederick William's ecclesiastical policy in his own estates is also never judged negatively. In 1722, for example, even the King's ban on preaching the Calvinist doctrine of Predestination is presented as a simple fact,⁴⁶ while such a ban must have been considered strange to the *EM*'s Calvinist readers.

Political and diplomatic news alternated with the above-described information concerning religious affairs, such as, for example, Prussia's so-called Hanoverian alliance with Great Britain and France, in 1725, and the agreements between Russia and the Emperor in the following years. In March, 1727, the *EM* discusses rumours that Prussia was weakening the Treaty of Hanover. Frederick William denied such a policy. In 1728, his long talks with the King-Elector of Saxony again led again to some speculation.⁴⁷ In the next year, 1729, a dispute with the Hanoverian King-Elector about the violent recruitment of Hanoverian citizens by Prussian officers is the most prevailing topic in the news on Prussia in the *mercure*. The relationships between both German states deteriorated because of the recruitment practices, but they were restored in the following year.⁴⁸ Although the Dutch Republic had openly supported Hanover in the Prussia-Hanover dispute, the editor remains as impartial in his report as his predecessors had been during the William III inheritance problem. In 1733, people doubted whether Prussia wanted to become involved in the problem of the Polish Succession that led to another European war that lasted until 1738. The *EM* gives a plain answer in 1735: the King wanted to remain neutral during this war; he denied rumours about being on Stanislaus's side, one of the contestants of the Polish throne after the death of August the Strong. Nevertheless, in the next year, Stanislaus was received with honour when he passed through the Prussian estates.⁴⁹ The succession problem of Jülich and Berg was another

44 The Prussian envoy made a protest against this publication, entitled 'Discursus Politicus & Consilium Katholico Politicum'. *EM*, 38/2 (1727), pp. 231–232.

45 *EM*, 39/2 (1728), pp. 137–138. Breslau still belonged to the Austrian possessions at that time.

46 *EM*, 33/1 (1722), pp. 261–262. Other examples: *EM*, 35/1 (1724), p. 127; 37/1 (1726), pp. 272–273; 48/1 (1737), pp. 160, 284 and 48/2, p. 306; 49/1 (1738), p. 188.

47 *EM*, 36/2 (1725), pp. 198, 267–273 (the text of the treaty); 36/1 (1726), p. 76; 38/1 (1727), pp. 11–12, 222; 39/1 (1728), pp. 31–36, 89–99, 299–303.

48 *EM*, 40/2 (1729), pp. 142–163, 298; 41/1 (1730), pp. 149–150, 195–199.

49 *EM*, 44/2 (1733), pp. 23, 111–112, 185; 46/1 (1735), p. 201; 47/1 (1736), p. 303. Yet, Prussia sup-

topic in Frederick William's final years. The *EM* started reporting this problem seriously in October, 1736.⁵⁰ These reports demonstrate that the Dutch were well informed—as far as the editors could uncover the truth—about Prussia's imperial and foreign policy.

During Frederick William's reign, the Dutch Republic's power in European affairs declined; the Dutch did not intervene in international conflicts, as they had done during the seventeenth century. For this reason, we cannot expect the *EM* to be full of reports about diplomacy between the Dutch provinces and Prussia as a response to eighteenth century European conflicts. However, other information about the relationships between these two countries is also scarce in the *mercure*. The above-mentioned dispute on the succession to William III was the most lasting diplomatic matter between the Dutch authorities and Frederick William, and therefore, a serious topic for discussion. Apart from this subject, there are only some scattered paragraphs. In 1734, for example, thus two years after the ultimate agreement about William's inheritance, the young Frisian Stadtholder William IV of Orange-Nassau visited Frederick William in Prussia's army camp near the Rhine. The *EM*'s editor states that his reception was very friendly. Furthermore, the *EM* mentions the presence of a Dutch envoy in Berlin a few times. In 1738, for example, the States General's representative toasted with the King and Crown Prince to the health of the Republic during a joint meal.⁵¹ Such contacts suggest good relationships between the two countries. In reality, they were tense because of several issues during this reign, such as, for instance, concerning long-standing Dutch debts to Prussia.⁵²

Another characteristic feature of the *EM* is an interest in the affairs of royal families. With respect to Prussia, the above-mentioned account of Frederick I's coronation in 1701 illustrated this interest; his son's necrology in the 1740 vol-

ports the Emperor against France with troops in the Palatinate: *EM*, 45/1 (1734), p. 284 and 45/2, pp. 291–292.

50 *EM*, 41/1 (1730), p. 11; 47/2 (1736), p. 208; 48/1 (1737), pp. 91–93, 234 and 48/2, p. 62; 49/1 (1738), pp. 126, 185–186 and 49/2, pp. 171–172, 239, 278, 288; 50/2 (1739), p. 53; 51/1 (1740), p. 285. The acquisition of Jülich and Berg was a main purpose of Frederick William's policy.

51 *EM*, 42/2 (1731), p. 136; 43/1 (1732), p. 137; 45/2 (1734), p. 92; 49/1 (1738), pp. 63–64, 229 and 49/2, p. 57. The envoy must have been Reinhard, Baron van Reede-Ginkel. He was the Dutch representative in Berlin since 1730. Otto Schutte, *Repertorium der buitenlandse vertegenwoordigers residerende in de Nederlanden 1584–1810* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff 1983), p. 213.

52 Johan Aalbers, *De Republiek en de vrede van Europa: De buitenlandse politiek van de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden na de vrede van Utrecht (1713), voornamelijk gedurende de jaren 1720–1733*, vol. 1, *Achtergronden en algemene aspecten* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff/Bouma's Boekhuis, 1980), pp. 37, 48.

ume is another good example. It is also indicated by the many Hohenzollern births and weddings that are covered by the *EM* during Frederick William's reign. Furthermore, the King's illnesses were also a topic of interest on a few occasions,⁵³ and it is not surprising that Frederick William's conflict with the Crown Prince—because of the son's well-known attempted escape—attracted the editor's attention. Father and son were reconciled at the end of 1730. The editor at that time, Haverkamp, describes the Crown Prince taking a new oath to be loyal to his father's authority. After that ceremony, the Crown Prince remained in his place of exile, Küstrin, in order to obtain administrative experience. The editor concludes his comments on the episode with the following words: 'That prince has really grown during his stay in Küstrin and [he] has a handsome appearance'.⁵⁴

4 The Reign of Frederick II the Great (1740–1756): Glory and Criticism

Opinions about Frederick II have been sharply divided both among his contemporaries and historians.⁵⁵ As a representative of the Dutch views, Schreurs distinguishes several stages during Frederick's lifetime. The first recorded impressions of the Successor, in 1740, were lyrical in their praise. On the other hand, his first military actions led to different reactions. In the beginning, many Dutch pamphleteers glossed over Frederick's invasion of Silesia. Other Dutch people immediately sided with his Austrian opponent Maria Theresa, the Republic's official ally. In the peaceful years leading up to 1756, the beginning of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), sympathy for Frederick was re-ignited. Schreurs's evaluation of the situation is based upon many sources, of which the *EM* is one.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the following findings in the relevant *mercure* demonstrate the

53 *EM*, 43/1 (1732), p. 135; 45/2 (1734), pp. 228, 291; 46/1 (1735), pp. 26, 128, 201; 50/1 (1739), p. 51.

54 *EM*, 41/2 (1730), pp. 282–283; 42/2 (1731), pp. 135–136 ('Die prins is sedert zyn verblyf te Custrin zeer gegroeid en heeft een fraai wezen').

55 Some examples of reactions from other countries: Stephan Skalweit, *Frankreich und Friedrich der Grosse: Der Aufstieg Preußens in der öffentlichen Meinung des 'ancien régime'* (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1952); Manfred Schlenke, *England und das friderizianische Preussen 1740–1763: Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis von Politik und öffentlicher Meinung im England des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg and Munich: Alber, 1963); Olivier Eisenmann, *Friedrich der Grosse im Urteil seiner schweizerischen Mitwelt* (Zurich: Juris, 1971).

56 Wilbert Schreurs, 'De Republiek en Pruisen: Een onderzoek naar de beeldvorming rond Frederik II in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden in de jaren 1740–1763' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Utrecht, 1986), pp. 110–115.

extent to which this chronical was representative of the most prevailing public ideas about Frederick II in the Republic at that time.

The reports about Frederick II as King of Prussia begin with descriptions of his first public acts. In June, 1740, when he came to power, he travelled quickly to Berlin to seal the army's loyalty under oath. The *EM* reports that he visited both the Reformed and Lutheran Churches. On his return journey, Frederick flung money into the crowd. At the reception for foreign envoys, the King was very kind to the Dutch envoy, Baron Van Ginkel.⁵⁷ In July, the *EM*'s editor seems to be impressed by all Frederick's gentle, wise and noble arrangements, as evidenced by the references to such acts. This monarch intended to make his people genuinely happy, wrote the *EM* editor. In disputes between King and people, for example, Frederick felt that the judges should always take the side of the citizens. In addition, the editor reveals three initial proposals of the King: reinstitution of the old ties with Great Britain; his offer to mediate in a conflict between Russia and Sweden; and the army's reduction from 70,000 to 30,000 or 40,000 soldiers. The proposal to reduce the army received a negative advice from his council. The King's answer was: 'How should I provide relief for my subjects then?' Yet, he released more than one thousand boys—younger than ten years old—who were already destined for the army. This item of news is recorded after the editor's statement that he had the impression that almost all Frederick's subjects adored his Majesty.⁵⁸ In the next months, from August to October, such news continued—sometimes embellished with poems—, until the start of the first Silesian War in November, 1740.⁵⁹ This war broke out as a result of the well-known succession problem—the only heir was female—in the Austrian-Habsburg Empire. The *EM* expresses the common anxiety shared in Europe after the Emperor's death.⁶⁰

When the Prussian army was on the march, the editor was not yet sure about the King's intentions, as Frederick had published a declaration that suggested Prussia's support of the Pragmatic Sanction, the Habsburg arrangement to guarantee the succession of Maria Theresa to the Austrian estates. The editor soon realized that Frederick was doing the opposite of giving support to the

57 *EM*, 51/1 (1740), pp. 310–313.

58 *EM*, 51/2 (1740), pp. 29–33. Schreurs, 'De Republiek', p. 18, observes that the *EM* derived some passages literally from the *Leidsche Courant*. Quoting from newspapers seems to have been common practice. Therefore, we can consider the *EM* to be a reservoir of many sources.

59 *EM*, 51/2 (1740), pp. 107–114, 146, 195–197. Only Frederick's first military actions in Herstal—claimed by the bishop of Liège—interrupt the peaceful news in September. *EM*, 51/2 (1740), pp. 147–162.

60 *EM*, 51/2 (1740), p. 225.

Pragmatic Sanction: he was violating this Austrian provision. Although the editor publishes the request of the Dutch States General to Berlin to make peace, he does not immediately condemn Frederick's military campaign. Nevertheless, the editor openly admires Frederick's opponent, Maria Theresa, for her great courage during the hostilities. In the following reports, the *EM* informed the Dutch accurately and quite extensively about the course of the war and the relevant diplomacy. The position of Silesia, for example, was explained to the readers with the assistance of a large map; some pages of the King's justification of his behaviour were reprinted.⁶¹ Yet, the editor denounced the disgusting skulls on the caps of a new Prussian regiment of hussars.⁶² It is obvious that, to the *EM*, Frederick was no longer the admirable prince he had been at the beginning of his reign.

In January, 1742, an official denial of false rumours, which was offered to the Dutch ambassador, interrupted the news concerning the war and the new provisions in conquered Silesia: the King had no intention of attacking the Republic; the newspapers were spreading nonsense.⁶³ In June, 1742, the editor announces peace with Austria. Prussian troops had made misleading movements in order to hide the negotiations.⁶⁴ The *EM* does not refer to the secret meeting in Kleinschnellendorf between Prussia and Austria, which had already been held in October, 1741.⁶⁵ The peace was signed in Berlin. Breslau, the main city of Silesia, would become the third capital in the Hohenzollern empire, next to Berlin and Königsberg. Ultimately, the editor explains Frederick's breach with France. It was made clear to His Majesty that the French would destroy Germans by Germans for the benefit of France.⁶⁶

After this, the *EM* could resume coverage of peaceful news about Prussia, such as the opening of a new opera house in Berlin.⁶⁷ Furthermore, some provisions about religious matters were reported. It was forbidden, for example,

61 *EM*, 53/1 (1742), p. 8. The complete Dutch version of the King's declaration was printed by the same printer as the *EM* at that time: Johannes Ratelband heirs and Company. *EM*, 52/1 (1741), pp. 77–87. See further mainly the headings 'Prussia', 'Germany', and 'Silesia' (1741–1742).

62 *EM*, 52/2 (1741), p. 292. Schreurs, 'De Republiek', pp. 41–42.

63 *EM*, 53/1 (1742), pp. 62–64; 52/2 (1741), p. 321 (prelude).

64 *EM*, 53/1 (1742), p. 312.

65 Observed by one of my students, Mariken Schuur, who wrote a paper about the reports of the Silesian Wars in the *EM*.

66 *EM*, 53/2 (1742), pp. 73–76, 138–141, 192–194, 239–244 (final text of peace treaty); 54/1 (1743), p. 7.

67 *EM*, 54/1 (1743), pp. 26–27 (this is the advanced news of December, 1742, because of the lack of space in the volume of 1742).

to use the word 'heretic' in Silesia. This ban was an order from the Roman Catholic Prince-Bishop of Breslau, Philip Ludwig Sinzendorf, who had reconciled himself to the situation that Frederick was his new sovereign. The editor assumes that the Silesian Roman Catholics found this decree a very strange one. However, this kind of ban did fit in with Frederick's ideas about freedom of religion, which he propagated during his reign. For that reason, he promised to build a Roman Catholic church in Berlin, in 1743. After four years, the construction of the church had been realized, as is reported in the *EM* 1747 volume. On several occasions, the editor concludes such ecclesiastical news with sceptical expectations: the Pope will not be enthusiastic about Frederick's interference in religious affairs; Roman bell-ringing will not be appreciated by the Protestants, and so on.⁶⁸ In the case of the King's appointment of the co-adjutor to the above-mentioned bishop, Philip von Schaffgotsch, in April, 1744, the editor's estimation—he suggests that the Pope opposed the appointment—proved to be wrong after all. However, at that moment, both the editor and Frederick himself could not yet know that the new co-adjutor—after he had succeeded Sinzendorf in 1747—would change into a severe opponent of Prussia in the course of the Seven Years' War.⁶⁹

In October, 1743, the *EM*'s admiration of Frederick was again temporarily on the wane. This is depicted by the quotation of a poem from an English newspaper:

To whom is FRED'RICK an Ally?
 To those who Friendship best can buy.
 Wherefore and when is he a Foe?
 As Int'rest prompts him to be so.
 Refining, varying ev'ry Day,
 He keeps the Parties all at Bay,
 And, without Claim of proper Right,
 The Ballance holds for which they light.
 This mystick Antimachiavel,⁷⁰

68 *EM*, 53/2 (1742), p. 246; 54/1 (1743), p. 87; 55/1 (1744), pp. 248–249; 57/1 (1746), p. 212; 58/1 (1747), pp. 67–68 and 58/2, pp. 16–17, 209. The freedom of religion was also applied to the the Moravian church. *EM*, 54/1 (1743), p. 264.

69 Peter Baumgart, 'The Annexation and Integration of Silesia into the Prussian State of Frederick the Great' in: Mark Greengrass ed., *Conquest and Coalescence: The Shaping of the State in Early Modern Europe* (London etc.: Edward Arnold, 1991), pp. 170–172.

70 Before his reign Frederick had written a book entitled 'L'antimachiavel ou examen du Prince de Machiavel'.

Does not his Conduct plainly tell,
That, while against it he disputed,
He learn'd the Doctrine he refuted?⁷¹

In the beginning of the next year, 1744, the King's neutrality was again highly praised. Frederick had proven to be a faithful sovereign. Yet, in August, Frederick's accusations against Maria Theresa and his second threat of war tend to confuse the editor.⁷² He quotes some articles of the secret treaty—found in several foreign newspapers—between Prussia, France and the Emperor. The war was indeed soon reopened and the Prussians besieged Prague with success, although it was not a lasting victory. The editor shows his indignation at Frederick's alliance with France and he compares the conduct of Prussia's troops to that of the Dutch Republic's enemies in the preceding centuries: the Spanish Duke of Alba and Louis XIV of France. Another indication of disapproval is his explanation of the late publishing—actually it was only after one month—of the capitulation text. Frederick had banned the publication of such information in the German newspapers. Thus, the editor's sympathy was again moving towards Austria, which we can conclude without still having to read between the lines. In 1745, he hoped that peace would return in Germany after the election of Maria Theresa's husband, Francis of Lorraine, as Emperor. The editor even calls the Austrians the 'unfair suppressed' at this time, and he fears Frederick's accusations against Saxony-Poland.⁷³ Yet the editor had to wait for another six months before he could applaud the end of the second Silesian War. He concludes his report with remarks of an anonymous 'famous arithmetician' from Breslau:

The War in *Silesia* began in the year 1740, which number makes just 348 times 5. This War has continued 5 years and has waged in 5 Countries (...). During the War, 5 Battles have taken place (...). The Battle at *Sorr* happened on 30th *September*, which is 6 times 5th *September*. The month *December* is named after *Decem*, ten or twice 5. The Year in which the

71 An extended Dutch translation followed the English text. *EM*, 54/2 (1743), pp. 199–200.

72 Maria Theresa and the Dutch Republic had just congratulated Frederick on his acquisition of East-Friesland, which was disputed by Hanover. *EM*, 55/1 (1744), p. 8 and 55/2, p. 85; 56/1 (1745), pp. 208–211.

73 *EM*, 55/2 (1744), pp. 111–117, 197–203, 256–265 [two pages; the pagination is all wrong here], 270, 317; 56/1 (1745), pp. 70–74, 114–115, 122–123, 267 and 56/2, pp. 3–4, 134. Schreurs, 'De Republiek', pp. 44–45. On the other hand, Frederick II was angry with the Dutch newspapers because of their long reports about his defeats. Rive, *Schets*, p. 171.

Peace is concluded, is 1745, which is 349 times 5, and this year is the 5th of his Majesty's reign.⁷⁴

After the conclusion of the peace, the editor seems to be uncertain about the King's conduct. Why was Frederick increasing his troops and was he still promoting soldiers everyday? In 1746, when Frederick travelled to Silesia, the Austrians were anxious that Frederick might break his peace promise for the third time. The *EM* observes that the Prussian Court denied this notion.⁷⁵ In October, 1747, rumours return in the *mercure*, this time concerning Prussian intrigues in the erstwhile French-Dutch conflict. In the meantime, the editor's sympathy for Frederick was increasing again. He reports on the orange clothing at the Prussian court, as a consequence of the installation of William IV of Orange-Nassau as Stadtholder of all the Dutch provinces. In addition, he highly praises Frederick's improvements of the judicial system in Pomerania.⁷⁶

The final volumes of the *EM*, until the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1756, contain frequent news about Prussia, although much of the same kind as before. From 1751 onwards, one of the topics was the tense relationship between Frederick and Russia.⁷⁷ In addition, the last editors could cover many facts concerning the King's stimulation of the economy and the sciences during peacetime. With regard to their sources, it is interesting to notice that the Berlin newspaper is mentioned a few times.⁷⁸ At the end of 1756, when Prussia started war again, the last editor is very positive about the country's defence against vicious remarks, although he calls himself impartial.⁷⁹ Unfortunately, we cannot analyse his opinion about the course of the war because the next volume was never published. Anyhow, public opinion in the Republic was extremely in favour of Frederick during the first years of the new war.⁸⁰

5 Conclusion

The image of Prussia and the country's sovereigns was presented positively in the *EM* during most of the publication years. The three kings were seldom

74 *EM*, 57/1 (1746), pp. 48–52.

75 *EM*, 57/1 (1746), pp. 170, 212 and 57/2, pp. 143–144.

76 *EM*, 58/1 (1747), p. 294 and 58/2, pp. 169–170, 207–208, 298–300.

77 E.g. *EM*, 62/1 (1751), pp. 45, 112, 189–194, 227–228; 64/2 (1753), p. 306; 66/1 (1755), p. 41.

78 *EM*, 63/1 (1752), p. 235; 64/1 (1753), p. 253.

79 *EM*, 67/2 (1756), pp. 286–287. Schreurs, 'De Republiek', pp. 100–101.

80 *Ibidem*, pp. 83–84, 92–93, 102.

openly criticized; on the contrary, they were generally highly praised, particularly the Soldiers' King, except for his recruitment practices. The fifth editor describes Frederick William's acts in a long and glorifying necrology. Yet, the first King had been glorified because of his military achievements, too. Furthermore, the beginning of Frederick II's reign impressed his subjects very much—and, possibly in their wake, the fifth editor of the *EM* as well. Nevertheless, this editor—like many Dutch authors—lost sympathy for Frederick II as a result of the King's conquest of Silesia. After the Silesian wars, Frederick was again appreciated, as is shown by the enthusiasm with which the *EM* welcomed the King's enlightened legislation.

Other differences between the editors' attitudes are best expressed in terms of degrees: perhaps the second editor was not very interested in Prussia. He postponed the news concerning the death of Frederick I for four months and his other reports about Prussia were not extensive. The first editor's reporting was not very exhaustive either. Most of his news about Prussia was presented impartially and uncritically. Even the dispute on the succession of William III did not seduce him into making assessments. Perhaps he was convinced of the legitimacy of the Hohenzollern's claims, perhaps he was merely over cautious. Further, we may recall that the messages about Prussia's support for the Protestants are typical of the third editor. The Calvinist section of the Dutch people must have welcomed such news.

During the *EM*'s publication, Prussia was increasing in power while the Dutch Republic was declining. Many contemporaries did not immediately notice these developments. Yet, the first editor already reckoned Prussia among the great powers in Europe. On the other hand, the fifth editor did not examine the international consequences of Prussia's conquest of Silesia very deeply, in contrast to the reactions of contemporaries who also expressed much divergence.⁸¹ The *EM* does not hold strong views about the inhabitants of the Hohenzollern territories, as it does, for example, about the Russians⁸²—this is also in contrast to another eighteenth-century short-lived Dutch periodical: the *Rotterdamsche Hermes* (1720-'21). In the latter, the Germans are called the most depressed people in the world, and moreover: given to drinking and sexually demanding.⁸³

81 Cf. Baumgart, 'The Annexation', p. 155.

82 Cf. Joop W. Koopmans, 'From beasts into men: Russia in the *Europische Mercurius* (1690–1756)', https://www.rug.nl/research/portal/files/51414002/From_Beasts_into_Men.pdf.

83 Elly Groenenboom-Draai, *De Rotterdamse woelreus. De Rotterdamse Hermes (1720-'21) van Jacob Campo Weyerman: Cultuurhistorische verkenningen in een achttiende-eeuwse periodiek* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, Ga: Rodopi, 1994), pp. 454–455.

In general, the *EM*'s editors were rather well and promptly informed about Brandenburg-Prussia. They derived their information partly from German newspapers. The many letters and other state papers quoted from the Prussian court demonstrate good connections within as well as outside the governing elites in the Republic.

Politics in Title Prints: Examples from the Dutch News Book *Europische Mercurius* (1690–1756)*

Governments always set great store by the spread of favourable information. To that end many authorities have manipulated the press by only providing positive and focused information, and through censorship. This practice is current today, and similarly was the case in early modern times, when publishing companies experienced strong growth and the newspaper sector emerged as a new phenomenon in Europe. Even in countries where the press was relatively free, such as the Dutch Republic and, after 1700, England, political information was slanted and incomplete as a result of a lack of transparency in the political system. Also, publishers, reporters and chroniclers in these countries influenced the population's attitude towards the authorities and their policies—both deliberately and unintentionally. Nearly all news items concerning governments and politicians influence public opinion, even when the reporting strives for balance.

Until the twentieth century, when motion pictures and sound became commonplace, static objects and the spoken and printed word were the prominent forms of communication between authorities and subjects. Sculptures and paintings have always been important means of celebrating great personalities and recording important political events. In the early modern era, published images joined these media as a means of disseminating information about political events and points of view for or against governments. Prints had at least two advantages over individual sculptures and paintings: they could be sold separately and disseminated in greater numbers, and they could be included in publications. In times when few people could afford to make long journeys, prints informed new audiences far removed from the events. Many publications could only be understood by an educated elite, but it was members of this group that shaped public opinion and transmitted information to the less well educated.¹

* This chapter was earlier published in Martin Gosman and Joop W. Koopmans (eds.), *Selling and Rejecting Politics in Early Modern Europe* (Leuven, Paris and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2007), pp. 135–149.

1 See Daniel R. Horst, *De Opstand in zwart-wit: Propagandaprenten uit de Nederlandse Opstand*

Technological shortcomings, however, still limited circulation and determined the final form of the prints.² They could only be printed in one or a limited range of ink colours, which reduced their representativeness. The labour-intensive production process kept newspapers from running images of current events until the end of the nineteenth century. Until then, prints were only included in news sources which had no deadline, such as pamphlets and so-called 'news books'. The latter summarized, and sometimes commented on, events of the preceding month, quarter or six-month period. Both texts and images provide interesting resources for research into how early modern people viewed and experienced political news.³

In this article I will discuss a number of political themes represented in the title prints of the Dutch news book entitled *Europische Mercurius* [European Mercury].⁴ Established in 1690, it was published in Amsterdam by Timotheus ten Hoorn (until 1702), Andries van Damme *cum suis* (until 1730), and the Ratelband-Gerrevink family (until 1750), and later published in The Hague, until its demise in 1756, by Fredric Henric Scheurleer (until mid-1755) and Ottho van Thol.⁵ These publishers generally collaborated with a single editor who was indicated on the title page by his initials only.⁶ The *Europische Mercurius* carried a title print in its very first volume, and from 1715, the prints were often accompanied by an explanatory rhyme.⁷ Other prints were used in the 1693

1566–1584 (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003), who discusses images aimed at the masses as well as prints with captions in Latin and Greek.

2 For details see Fons van der Linden, *De grafische technieken* (De Bilt: Cantecleer, 51990).

3 A recent summary of methodological questions and problems concerning the study of images as historical sources can be found in Christi M. Klinkert, *Nassau in het nieuws: Nieuwsprenten van Maurits van Nassaus militaire ondernemingen uit de periode 1590–1600* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005), pp. 220–256. Klinkert discusses, among other works, Francis Haskell's important study *History and its Images—Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993).

4 Its subtitle varied. From 1740 on its masthead read: *Nederlandsch gedenkboek of Europische Mercurius*.

5 During its first three years the *Europische Mercurius* appeared every three months. Later, and until its demise, it appeared every six months. See Joop W. Koopmans, 'De presentatie van het nieuws in de *Europische Mercurius* (1690–1756)', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 23/3 (2000), pp. 117–133.

6 Only the initials of Laurens Arminius (July 1719 to July 1727) and of Johannes Haverkamp (July 1727 to July 1737) have been deciphered so far. Koopmans, 'De presentatie van het nieuws', pp. 120–121.

7 The last six series lacked title prints. Those of 1693 and 1705 carried title rhymes, but those of 1718, 1719, 1723, 1724, 1727, 1729 and 1750 did not. Jan Goeree drafted title rhymes for four volumes that were not published in the *Europische Mercurius*. These were included in his posthumous *Mengel poëzy etc.*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Johannes Pauli and de Janssoons van Waesberge,

series, with these illustrations and title prints carrying either the names of the designer or engraver, just their initials, or no name or initials at all.⁸

News books such as the *Europische Mercurius* placed the informative value of the prints above their aesthetic value. The themes of the title prints were primarily chosen to interest the reader in the information within the particular volume.⁹ Title prints by authoritative designers and engravers evidently raised the publication's prestige. The first publisher of the *Europische Mercurius* seems to have been aware of this when in 1690 he engaged the well-respected Amsterdam engraver and poet Jan Luyken (1649–1712) for the first title print (see Figure 3), which I shall discuss with the 1691 series below. I shall also consider the anonymous title prints for the series of 1723 (see Figure 5) and 1725 (see Figure 6). It is likely that they were drafted by the engraver and poet Jan Goeree (1670–1731), who at that time also wrote title rhymes for the *Europische Mercurius*.¹⁰ The discussion of these three examples focuses on the meaning they had within the Dutch political and social context. It is preceded by a summary of the political figures and symbols which appeared frequently in the title prints of the *Europische Mercurius*.

1 The Freedom Hat, the Janus Temple and Other Political Symbolism

Similarly to drawings and paintings, early modern prints could contain images that, according to present day norms, would be considered to be both realistic and imaginary. We need to be aware that the frame of reference of the

1734). See Joop W. Koopmans, 'Jan Goeree en zijn ontbrekende titelgedichten in de *Europische Mercurius* (1713, 1718, 1719 en 1727)', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 26/2 (2003), pp. 73–90, for a discussion of the corresponding prints. For other prints that have already been discussed see idem, 'Nieuwsprenten in de *Europische Mercurius* van 1730–1733', *Tijdschrift voor Mediageschiedenis*, 6 (2003), pp. 5–27. Cf. also N. Bartelings, "Hier toont voor 't oog het tijtelblad den inhoud in het boek vervat": De rol van de titelprent in Frans van Mieris' *Histori der Nederlandsche vorsten*', in Karel Bostoen, Elmer Kolfin and Paul J. Smith (eds.), *'Tweelinge eener dragt': Woord en beeld in de Nederlanden (1500–1750)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001), pp. 248–249.

8 The initials and names of the engravers are fairly easy to decipher, unlike those of most of the editors of the *Europische Mercurius*.

9 The painter and art theorist Gerard (de) Lairese (1611–1740) devoted a chapter to title prints in his *Groot schilderboek etc.* of 1707. Bartelings, "Hier toont voor 't oog", pp. 245–246, 253.

10 In 1723 the title rhyme is lacking, as indicated earlier. Jan Goeree wrote title rhymes for the series of 1705, 1713, 1715–1716, 1718–1722, 1725–1728 and 1730. Koopmans, 'Jan Goeree', pp. 73–77.



FIGURE 3 Title print at the beginning of the *Europische Mercurius* from 1691
UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN LIBRARY, THE NETHERLANDS (PHOTOGRAPH
DIRK FENNEMA, HAREN, THE NETHERLANDS)



FIGURE 4 Title print at the beginning of the *Europische Mercurius* from 1702
UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN LIBRARY, THE NETHERLANDS (PHOTOGRAPH
DIRK FENNEMA, HAREN, THE NETHERLANDS)



FIGURE 5 Title print at the beginning of the *Europische Mercurius* from 1723
UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN LIBRARY, THE NETHERLANDS (PHOTOGRAPH
DIRK FENNEMA, HAREN, THE NETHERLANDS)

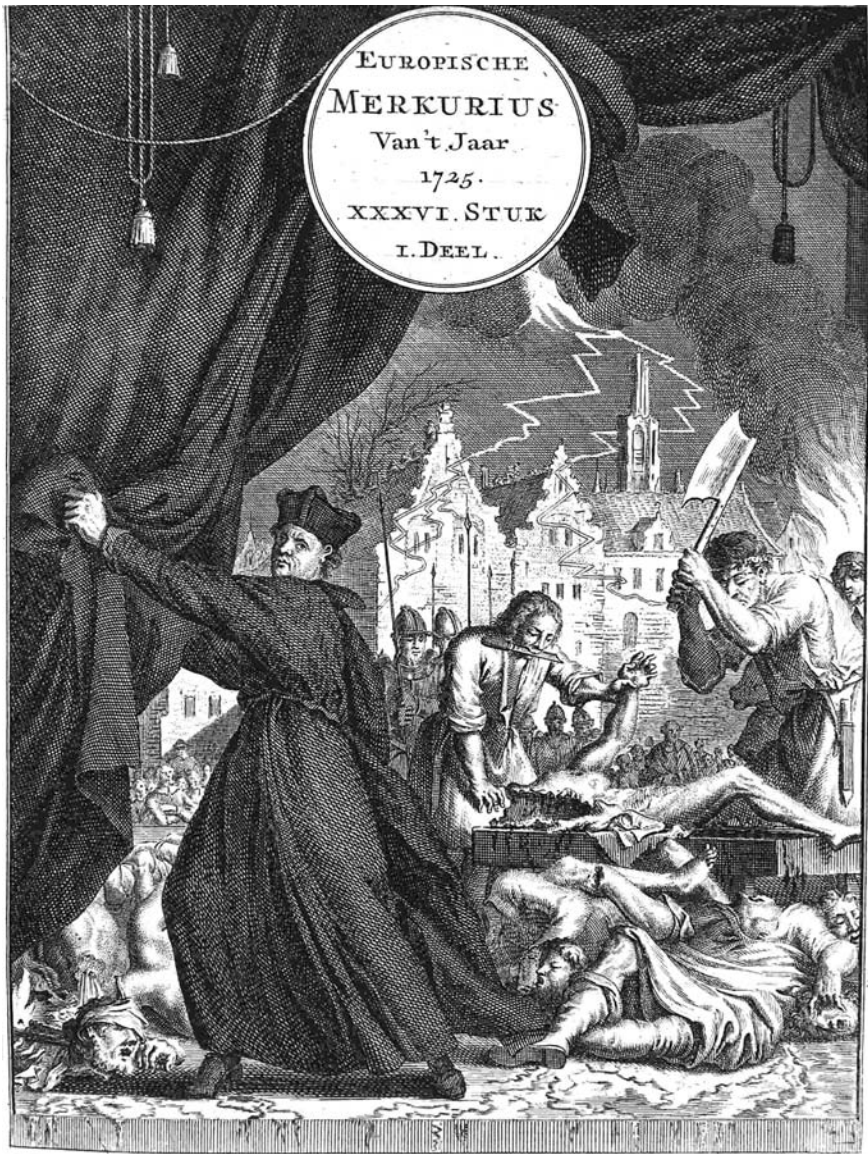


FIGURE 6 Title print at the beginning of the *Europische Mercurius* from 1725
UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN LIBRARY, THE NETHERLANDS(PHOTOGRAPH
DIRK FENNEMA, HAREN, THE NETHERLANDS)

early modern viewer differed from ours, and certain pictorial elements were experienced differently.¹¹ Allegorical images, partly in the form of classical gods and mythological figures, also appear frequently in the prints. For instance, in response to continuous European warfare around 1700, the classical personifications of war (Mars) and peace (Pax) repeatedly appear in the title prints of the *Europische Mercurius*. Mercury, as the messenger of the gods, is self-evident. Fama, goddess of uncorroborated news, the princess Europa, and Zeus depicted as a bull, regularly appear on the scene.¹² European states are often represented by animals.¹³ The unicorn represents Great Britain, the eagle and the cockerel stand for the German empire and France respectively, and the lion—often with a raised sword or a bundle of seven arrows—represents the Dutch Republic.

Many printed illustrations were less truthful than the designers may have wished because they lacked knowledge of the true state of affairs. This particularly applied to representations of distant events of which there was limited knowledge. For instance, the title print for the *Europische Mercurius* of 1693 depicts a smoking mountain and destroyed buildings, indicating the destruction caused by that year's earthquake and volcanic activity in Sicily. In such cases the prints showed interpretations. While the prints depicting current news were primarily used to attract attention, the image could nonetheless be very faithful when the designer was familiar with the subject, as in the representations of the Tower of London and of the Spanish castle of Segovia used in the title prints of the *Europische Mercurius* of 1723 and 1726 respectively. Prints of well-known people, buildings and city views, along with maps of battle scenes and other cartographic material—whether or not accompanied by explanatory text—could therefore inform the readers reasonably well.

Frequently represented in Dutch political prints was the symbol of freedom: a woman carrying a lance with a hat on top of it. This figure appears in no fewer than eight title prints of the *Europische Mercurius*.¹⁴ The freedom hat was a ref-

11 Cf. e.g. Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 126; Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Book, 2001), pp. 30–33; Jan Van der Stock, 'Het gedrukte beeld als historische bron: Enkele methodologische bedenkingen', in Nelke Bartelings etc. (eds.), *Beelden in veelvoud: De vermenigvuldiging van het beeld in prentkunst en fotografie. Leids kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, 12 (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2002), pp. 23–32.

12 Mercury, however, is missing from the 1725 print discussed in this article.

13 See also Paul J. Smith, 'On Cocks and Frogs: Fables and Pamphlets around 1672', in Martin Gosman and Joop W. Koopmans (eds.), *Selling and Rejecting Politics in Early Modern Europe* (Leuven, Paris and Dudley, MA: Peeters Publishers, 2007), pp. 103–117.

14 The eight prints date from 1690, 1694, 1702, 1704, 1711, 1742, 1747 and 1749.

erence to the Roman custom of shaving freed slaves and then covering their heads. Art historian Frans Grijzenhout has noted that the hat was also used as an attribute of the 'Hollandic' lion in which case it only signified the freedom of the province of Holland.¹⁵ The title prints of the *Europische Mercurius* of 1690, 1702 (see Figure 4) and 1711 offer clever examples of this combination.¹⁶ In the prints of 1702—the first carrying the name of Piet Sluyter as the engraver—and 1708, the lion is linked to other well-known symbols: the bundle of arrows and the so-called 'Holland garden'. In the 1702 print, these attributes also carry the coats of arms of various cities in the province of Holland. The reason is that the Republic took part in the War of the Spanish Succession against France during this period and its freedom was therefore under threat. Holland was the Republic's most important province and the Holland garden often stood for the entire Republic. In addition, Holland was the province where the *Europische Mercurius* was being published and thus the province closest to the hearts of many of its readers as well as those who produced it.

According to the well-known historian Johan Huizinga, the Holland garden is one of the Dutch national symbols that fell into disuse after the establishment of the kingdom in 1814.¹⁷ At the start of the Dutch Revolt against Philip II, the States of Holland had minted coins with the image of a garden to symbolize an enclosed judicial area and to signify a strict sense of the fatherland—specifically applying to the provinces of Holland and Zeeland. Memories of the Dutch freedom struggle were relived in each subsequent war. According to Van Winter, the Holland garden had made quite an impact both within the provinces and beyond. The symbol evoked struggle and courage, and all engravers using it must have been aware of these references.¹⁸

War and peace in Europe were represented not only by the figures of Mars and Pax but also by the temple of Janus. During Roman times, the doors of the temple of Janus in the Roman Forum were closed only when peace reigned throughout the empire.¹⁹ In early modern times, the educated members of the

15 Frans Grijzenhout, 'De verbeelding van de Vrijheid in de Nederlandse kunst, 1570–1870', in Eco O.G. Haitsma Mulier and Wyger R.E. Velema (eds.), *Vrijheid: Een geschiedenis van de vijftiende tot de twintigste eeuw* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999), pp. 253–285, at pp. 255–256.

16 In the 1711 print, the lion wears a hat with the word *libertas*; in those from 1690 and 1702, the hat is placed on a lance, while in that from 1690, the virgin of freedom is also represented.

17 Cited by Pieter Jan van Winter, 'De Hollandse tuin', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 8 (1957), pp. 29–121, at p. 29.

18 Ibidem, pp. 29–37, 108–109.

19 For extensive information about Janus see Frans Grijzenhout, 'Janus' betrouwbaarheid: Over een beeldmotief in de politieke grafiek', in Bram Kempers (ed.), *Openbaring en*

general public were familiar with this image, as shown by the epitaph for the deceased king-stadtholder William III by the poet Jan de Regt, published in the 1702 volume of the *Europische Mercurius*. De Regt writes:

Here lies the English Subjects' love and lust;
The Skipper of the Ship of the seven free States;
(...) When their affairs turned dire, Britain's August
Repaired the peoples' right, and closed the Janus shrine.²⁰

In other words, William III had brought peace to his countries, Great Britain and the Republic, and the poet points implicitly to the French king Louis XIV as the aggressor who had violated international law.

The temple of Janus, with doors either open or closed, figures in the title prints of the *Europische Mercurius* of 1702, 1727 and 1738. The symbol was used in 1702 because, as stated already, the struggle for Spanish heritage began in that year. It was used in other years because of threats of war in Europe. One can easily understand the concern about the consequences of war for Dutch trade and taxes, and the editors of the *Europische Mercurius* often openly expressed their irritation with the war and their hope that the authorities would keep or restore peace. The engravers communicated these sentiments implicitly through their prints.²¹

The two faces of the god Janus carried other meanings as well. For example, the title print of the *Europische Mercurius* of 1727 shows the god looking into the past and the future, and taking the morbid shape of a skull with two faces.²² The Janus face could also represent princely virtue, as well as political or religious deception and falsehood. The latter meaning explains the title print from 1723, discussed below.

bedrog: De afbeelding als historische bron in de Nederlanden (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), pp. 138–143.

20 In Dutch: 'Hier legt de liefde en lust der Engelse Onderzaaten; / De Stuurman van den Hulk der zeven vrye Staaten ... De Britse Augustus, die, in 't nypen van den nood, / Der Volken Regt herstellde, en Janus Tempel sloot.' *Europische Mercurius* (EM), 13/1 (1702), p. 254. The 'seven free States' are the seven provinces of the Dutch Republic.

21 See e.g. EM, 24/1 (1713), p. 65; 38/1 (1727), p. 16; 58/1 (1747), p. 175.

22 Koopmans, 'Jan Goeree', pp. 85–88.

2 The Triumphal Entry of King-Stadtholder William III in 1691

It is not the main representation in the title print for 1691 that is important for this article, but rather three small scenes. They depict the triumphal entry of the king-stadtholder William III into The Hague in early February 1691.²³ The resplendent festivity was heavily weighted with propaganda, clearly referring to the triumphal entry processions of Roman victors. In the late Middle Ages, important Dutch cities had organized similar 'joyous entries' for their sovereign on the occasion of his wedding or inauguration. Such entry pageants were designed to raise the political prestige of both parties.²⁴ However, with the absence of native sovereign princes as a result of the Dutch Revolt, the northern provinces had been forced to forego almost all triumphal parades.²⁵ The stadtholders had demonstrated princely power at times, but the sovereign regents had usually discouraged this practice. The glorious reception that the authorities organized for William III in 1691 was therefore highly noteworthy and strongly related to the political context.

In 1689 the Republic had begun to wage war against France once more, this time in alliance with England in the wake of the power shift there. After the Glorious Revolution, William III had acceded to the English throne through his marriage to Mary Stuart, and had installed himself in England. Even though William III derived his title from another country, the inhabitants of the Republic had a king for the first time since their break with the Spanish Habsburger Philip II in 1581. However, for the Dutch Orangists this meant that they no longer had their prince permanently in their midst as he would make only occasional visits to the Republic from England. In 1691 William III visited his country of birth for the first time since his accession to the throne. He travelled to The Hague in January—stormy weather meant that the crossing took five days from 26 to 31 January—to preside over a conference of countries interested in allied warfare against France.

23 Extensive information on the entry procession can be found in René W.Chr. Dessing, *Koning-stadhouder Willem III triomfator: De triomfale intocht in Den Haag 1691* (The Hague: Haags Historisch Museum, 1988), pp. 91–152.

24 See e.g. Mark A. Meadow, 'Ritual and Civic Identity in Philip II's 1549 Antwerp *Blijde Incompt*', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art*, 49 (1989), pp. 37–67.

25 During the seventeenth century, the city of Amsterdam had organized several triumphal processions, for the Palatine Countess Elisabeth (1613), Stadtholder Maurice (1618), the French Queen Mother Maria de' Medici (1638) and Henrietta Maria, spouse of the English king Charles I (1642). Derk P. Snoep, *Praal en propaganda: Triumfalia in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 1975), pp. 34–76.

Upon his arrival, William III initially reacted negatively to the idea of an entry parade but he was persuaded after being informed that the preparations had already been made. According to art historian René Dessing, the ‘investiture was offered to him by the States of Holland and the Hague magistrate as a deferred tribute on the occasion of his coronation as king of England in 1689.’²⁶ Dessing, however, finds the reasons for the organizers wishing to hold the entry parade somewhat unclear. He suggests that one reason may have been that the Republic had had few festivities since William’s coronation.²⁷ Nevertheless, the *Europische Mercurius* writes:

(...) all inhabitants of Holland desired to see the King in public, and to ascertain through the witness of their own eyes that a Prince for whom they nurture an excellent love, and about whom the Enemies had spread so many false rumours, was still alive, and had returned to these Provinces.²⁸

It is most likely that the organizers—the States of Holland and the government of The Hague—well understood the importance for the inhabitants of The Hague to actually see their prince, and for others elsewhere in the Republic to read about the event. The triumphant entry fitted perfectly with the war propaganda supporting the Republic and her allies. Furthermore, the event provided a good opportunity to demonstrate the Republic’s prestige at a time when many foreign guests were in The Hague for the allied conference.

The *Europische Mercurius* helped spread the propaganda—either consciously or not—by the detailed reporting of the procession and the accompanying spectacles. The news book mentions, for example, that many people contributed to the organization of the festivities of 5 February. The States of Holland and the magistrate of The Hague had each allocated 6,000 guilders for the erection of one small and three large victory arches, the decoration of the town hall and great fireworks displays at the Hofvijver. At the request of the States, architect Steven Vennekool (1657–1719) designed a triumphal arch on the Buitenhof. The programme items funded by The Hague were under the direction of the artist Romein de Hooghe (1645–1708) and the physician

26 Dessing, *Koning-stadhouder*, p. 7.

27 Ibidem, pp. 18, 20, 22.

28 In Dutch: ‘alle Hollanders waren begeerig om den Koning in ’t openbaar te zien, en zich door het getuigenis van hun eigene oogen te verzekeren, dat een Vorst, voor wien zy een uitsteekende liefde hebben, en waar af de Vyanden zo veel valsche geruchten hadden doen loopen, noch leefde, en weder in deze Provinciën was gekomen.’ *EM*, 2/1 (1691), p. 115.

and anatomist Govert Bidloo (1649–1713). De Hooghe took responsibility for the designs and paintings, while Bidloo addressed the contents, such as the captions and inscriptions in Latin, assisted by professors from Leiden and Utrecht.²⁹

Jan Luyken is said to have drafted an image of the triumphal arch on the Westeinder bridge, but he did not include this arch in his 1691 title print.³⁰ The victory arch in the upper left corner of the print stood on the Groenmarkt. The obelisks on this market were dedicated to the royal couple William and Mary. The arch itself was decorated with allegorical and historical representations including paintings of important events that occurred during the Dutch Revolt. The triumphal arch in the upper right corner of the title print was located on the Plaats, parallel to the shorter side of the Hofvijver. This arch carried a four-metre high statue of the king-stadtholder on horseback, as well as representations of mythological scenes and glorious Dutch sea and land battles. The victory arch on the Buitenhof can be seen at the bottom of the print in a scene which also displays William's party as it moved to the Buitenhof by way of the Gevangenpoort. This arch carried depictions of a number of events from the life of the king-stadtholder.³¹

In the evening, people could admire transparent paintings at city hall. In other parts of The Hague, several diplomats and private citizens had also decorated and illuminated their homes. The entry procession was concluded with a great display of fireworks from an elegant platform in the Hofvijver. Unfortunately dense fog impeded the view of many.³² The *Europische Mercurius* undoubtedly derived all this information from one of the many pamphlets on the festivities that quickly came into circulation.³³ The official album by Govert Bidloo appeared in October 1691.³⁴

29 Dessing, *Koning-stadhouder*, pp. 28–32.

30 Ibidem, p. 33 (representation p. 14).

31 *EM*, 2/1 (1691), pp. 115–129; Dessing, *Koning-stadhouder*, pp. 46–76; Snoep, *Praal en propaganda*, pp. 123–136.

32 Two days after his entry procession William III appeared in the assemblies of the States-General, the States of Holland and the Council of State. *EM*, 2/1 (1691), pp. 129–130, 133–149.

33 Snoep, *Praal en propaganda*, pp. 96–98, 114, 141–151.

34 Govert Bidloo, *Komste van Zyne Majesteit Willem III. Koning van Groot Britanje etc.* (The Hague: Arnoud Leers, 1691). The text with the title *De koninclycke triumphe, vertoonende alle de eerpoorten, met desselfs besondere Sinne-beelden etc.*, which was published by Barent Beeck, shows many similarities with the information in the *Europische Mercurius* as well as the etching by Jan Luyken. This text was allowed to appear only one month after Bidloo's text. Derk P. Snoep qualifies Beeck's text as unreliable and 'the most notorious of the "black-market" booklets'. See his introduction to the publication of the French

The main representation in the 1691 title print was less glorious for the allies. It shows the full figure of the war god Mars holding a flaming torch and a drawn sword looking in the direction of an army camp and a burning town. A trumpet player and a wolf stand by the war god's side, while he tramples the horn of plenty.³⁵ Contemporaries will have been reminded of the French siege of the Spanish-Netherlandish town of Mons (Bergen) in Hainault, which had begun on 15 March 1691. The editor of the *Europische Mercurius* reports that the French had cleverly deceived their adversaries by disseminating false information. He writes:

Never have false tidings deluded one more than at the time of the siege of the famous City of Mons in Hainault as in [the province of] Holland; there one made no other assessment, supported by messages that one received from there, than that the French would have recognized the need to break up the siege, and yield with shame ...³⁶

The success of this deception is also clear from the fact that on 16 March William III had gone to his palace, Het Loo near Apeldoorn, and been forced to return hurriedly to The Hague when couriers informed him about the turn of events. The allies lost Mons in April despite prayer services ordered by the States of Holland and the resistance put up by the urban defence forces. The Spanish court was greatly surprised by the defeat because Mons was known to be a stronghold. It was hard to find a messenger to convey the news to the Spanish king Charles II, who was reportedly even more surprised than his court.³⁷

language version *Relation du voyage de Sa Majesté britannique en Hollande* (The Hague: Arnoud Leers, 1692; photomech. repr. Soest: Davaco, 1971), pp. 8–12.

35 In the Roman era the wolf was dedicated to Mars. This animal recalled the legend in which Romulus and Remus, who were Mars' children, had been nurtured by a wolf. The horn of plenty (*cornucopia*) was the attribute of several allegorical figures, such as Peace, Concord and Fortune, and of Europe as well.

36 In Dutch: 'Nooit is men ergens met valscher tydingen misleid geworden, als men ten tyde der belegering van de vermaarde Stad Bergen in Henegouwen in Holland misleid wierd; alwaar men, steunende op de berichten die men van daar omtrent ontving, geen andere staat maakte of de Franschen zouden zich genoodzaakt hebben gezien het beleg op te breekken, en met schande te wyke.' *EM*, 2/2 (1691), p. 3.

37 *EM*, 2/1 (1691), pp. 188–189; 2/2 (1691), pp. 4–30, 79–80, 105–106.

3 Jacobite Adder's Brood in 1723

For decades after the coronation of William and Mary, the whole of Protestant Europe remained very fearful of the return of the Catholic Stuarts to the British throne. The title print in the *Europische Mercurius* in 1723 offers an excellent example of the Dutch preoccupation with Jacobite aspirations. It refers to a Jacobite conspiracy against the British king George I. The editor, Laurens Arminius, offers the following explanation of the print:

Let us now (...) say something about Religion. One may include here the conspiracy that was discovered in *England*, hatched by Monks, Priests, and especially the Jesuits; at least, to express ourselves well, it is Religious zeal that has drove her to forge such damnable Conspiracies. One could not use a better cloth, than a Spiritual one, therefore in which to cloak such a smart attack; and this is what the engraver of the title print possibly meant, as if Prudence lifts the vestments of an *English* Bishop, under which a brooding Adder is discovered; we will not say whether he eyes Doctor *Adderbury*. In the meantime, it is strange that these Zealots still hope to reach its [the conspiracy's] goal, after several failed attempts. The Chevalier *St. George* [James the Pretender] is driven by the same Spirit.³⁸

In his previous volume Arminius had already extensively reported the conspiracy, referring to the bishop of Rochester as 'Dr. Francoys Asterburry', a mistaken reference to Atterbury.³⁹ In the quote above we see the variant 'Adderbury', but it is clear now that Arminius wants to make a humorous link with the print in which Mercury displays a text on a banderole which asks: 'Who could, who would suppose, That under such a cloak an Adder would brood [and repose]?'⁴⁰

38 In Dutch: 'Laten wy nu (...) iets zeggen van den Godsdienst. Men kan hier onder tellen de ontdekte Zamensweering in Engeland, gestookt door Monniken, Priesters, en voor al de Jesuiten; ten minsten, om ons wel te uyten, 't is den yver voor de Godsdienst, die haar vervoerd om zulke verfoejelyke Zamensweeringen te smeeden. Des kon men ook geen beter kleedt, dan een Geestlyk, te baat genomen hebben om zo schoonen aanslag te bemantelen; en hier op heeft den Titel-Verbeeldenaar mooglijk gedoelt, als werdende door Voorzigtigheyt een Engels Bisschops gewaadt opgeligt, van waar onder zig eene broeiende Adder ontdekt; of hy Docter Adderbury in 't oog gehadt heeft, laten wy daar. Ondertuschen is het vreemd, dat die Yveraars nog al hopen tot haar oogmerk te komen, na het gedurig kwalijk uitvallen van diergelyke ondernemingen. De Ridder van St. Joris is van dezelve Geest, gedreven.' *EM*, 34/1 (1723), p. 8.

39 *EM*, 33/2 (1722), pp. 112–113.

40 In Dutch: 'Wie zou, wie kon vermo[ede]n! Dat onder zulk een kleedt een Adder zat te bro[ede]n?'

The lady with the Janus face, who holds a mirror with her right arm, around which a snake winds itself, and a bishop's mantle with her left hand, appears to be a representation of falsehood and deception.⁴¹ Both mirror and snake, however, are also the attributes of *Prudentia* (prudence). The broken egg symbolizes the failure of the conspiracy. In the background we see the river Thames and the city of London, with the Tower to the left where Tory leader Francis Atterbury (1662–1732) was imprisoned after his arrest in August 1722. Arminius points to the Jacobite pretender to the throne James (III), who had installed himself in Rome as an exile taking the Templar title: 'Chevalier St. George'. Rome is also the place named in an opened letter in the lower left corner of the print. The words 'Page 8' on this letter seem to refer to Arminius' explanation, which was cited above, and which may be found on the page with the same number in the news book.⁴²

From May 1722, thousands of soldiers were deployed in London as a precaution against an expected Jacobite insurrection. The Walpole government was perhaps attempting to distract attention from the financial disaster of the South Sea Company and gain the King's favour. Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester since 1713, was accused of complicity in the Jacobite conspiracy, which carried a charge of high treason. During the interrogation he was shown letters which he was accused of sending to the Pretender. Atterbury's defence was that they were forged. He also denied having exchanged letters with James Butler, the Duke of Ormond, who had prepared a Jacobite invasion from Spain. In May 1723, the House of Commons sent him into permanent exile abroad.⁴³ He did not therefore fall victim to the axe that seems to be lying in wait for him in the lower right-hand corner of the print.

The ongoing Jacobite threat makes the choice of this topic for the 1723 title print—following another on the same topic in 1716—quite understandable. Protestant news chroniclers living in the Republic, the editor of the *Europische Mercurius* included, carefully monitored Catholic aspirations in Europe. They evidently had no wish for a return of the Catholic Stuarts to the British throne. The fact that in the 1724 volume Arminius opened his review of the preced-

41 This representation was also published in the first edition from 1723 of Arnold Houbraken's *Stichtelyke zinnebeelden gepast op deugden en ondeugden, in LVII tafereelen vertoont en verrikt met de bygedichten van Juffr. Gezine Brit* (Amsterdam: Willem Barents, 1723). Since the sixteenth century the vertical split had been used as a device to indicate someone's political or religious unreliability. Grijzenhout, 'Janus' betrouwbaarheid', p. 138.

42 *EM*, 34/1 (1723), p. 8.

43 *EM*, 34/1 (1723), p. 8. For a modern discussion see Gareth Vaughan Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688–1730: The Career of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), pp. 223–275.

ing year with 'discovered conspiracies' illustrates again how seriously the editor took the events surrounding Atterbury.⁴⁴ The Dutch readers had to be warned.

4 Polish Lutherans Decapitated in Toruń in 1725

Wherever possible, the editor, Laurens Arminius, held the Jesuits responsible for fostering ecclesiastical discord with potentially undesirable political consequences, not only in relation to the Jacobite conspiracy of 1723. During his years as editor he continuously became agitated about what he called 'that scum of a Roman Religion'. The year 1725 prompted another outburst, apparent in the title print for that year. It depicts the execution of a number of Lutherans in the Polish town of Toruń. In this centre of Polish Lutheranism, incidents between students of the Jesuit college and the Lutheran school had escalated unpleasantly during 1724. After a number of inhabitants of the city had refused to kneel for a Jesuit during a procession and the Jesuits had harassed a Lutheran student, a group of Lutherans burnt Catholic effigies of Mary. In addition, Lutherans and Catholics had been in dispute over the management of the churches in their city. The upheaval attracted the attention of the Polish king, August II of Saxony, who as Elector had been a Lutheran before converting to Catholicism in order to accede to the Polish throne. He ordered an investigation, the outcome of which was unfavourable to the Lutherans. They were obliged to return one of their churches to the Catholics, shut their schools and to limit the Lutheran city press to publications which were permitted by the episcopal censor.

However, the death sentence pronounced on nine of the Lutheran protagonists truly shocked Protestant Europe. This extreme judgment even included two Lutheran mayors condemned for not having intervened sooner in the conflict. In the end only one of the mayors, Jan Rösner, was decapitated for having refused to convert to Catholicism. The Polish king, who admitted in private to being unable to control the fanatical Catholicism of the Poles, dispensed grace to the other mayor, Jan Hendrik Zernick, who was not, however, allowed to resume his office and whose home was confiscated.⁴⁵

The title print depicts the gruesome executions on the scaffold near the old city hall of Toruń. Some of the decapitations have already taken place, indicated by severed heads and pools of blood. Arminius writes that 'the whole execution was carried out by the executioner of Plotzko using two swords, and

44 *EM*, 35/1 (1724), pp. 5, 7–8.

45 *EM*, 36/1 (1725), p. 39.

had been very fortunate for all, except in the carpenter's apprentice's case, whose head was severed only at the third attempt'.⁴⁶ Flames are also visible, probably representing those who were first quartered and then burnt at the stake as punishment for their destruction of the effigies of Mary.⁴⁷

A Jesuit in the foreground reveals the scene by opening a curtain. Jan Goeree, who wrote the rhyming explanatory title, would prefer not to have to watch this inhuman 'play', which is also seen by the saddened citizens of the city shown in the background. He does not agree with another spectator who tries to convince him that the executions were divine justice. However, this spectator is a 'Lojolaist', a member of the Societas Jesu founded by Ignatius de Loyola and judged by Goeree to be an 'evil Fraternity'. By labelling the judges who pronounced the sentences a 'blood council', he draws a direct parallel to the Duke of Alba's Council of Troubles in the sixteenth century, which, in 1568, acted against the Dutch insurgents and was named a blood council by the people due to its many death sentences.⁴⁸ This analogy must have resonated with the Protestant Dutch audience. The poet also indirectly refers to the fact that even the Pope had sought to avoid the Polish tragedy. However, the intervention by the papal nuncio had been in vain. Goeree finishes by expressing the hope that divine lightning would strike the Jesuits if terrestrial powers did not succeed in revenging the dead of Toruń.⁴⁹ The lightning is already shown in the print. According to Arminius, the Jesuits had incited the judges to pronounce the death sentences, and even in 1726 he looks back, in the *Europische Mercurius*, on the effects of the executions in Toruń, where 'innocent' people had been sacrificed to the hate of a few Jesuits.⁵⁰

46 In Dutch: 'de geheele Executie was door den Scherpregher van Plotzko met twee zwaarden verrigt, en by alle zeer gelukkig geweest, behalven by de Timmermans knecht, wien hy in de derde slag het Hoofd eerst af hieuw.' *EM*, 35/2 (1724), p. 289.

47 Arminius mentions this punishment in his report. He also mentions, however, that the executioner burnt a Lutheran pamphlet. *EM*, 35/2 (1724), p. 288.

48 In Dutch: 'Hier schuyft een Jesuwiet het swart Tooneel-kleedt open, / En toondt een Schouwspel, dat ik naauwlyx weet te doopen. / Is 't menschen handen werk, het geen hier werdt vertoondt? / Ik was van dit geloof, geloof my, liefst verschoondt ...'t Is Godtsvrugt die hier speelt, en al dit bloedt doet storten / Byt een Lojolaist, my heymelyk in het oor; / Is't Godtsvrugt Vader? ik beschouw het daar niet voor: / Het is Bloedtdorstigheyt, die met een schaar Tyrannen / Ontaardt van menschlykheydt, den bloedt-raadt heeft gespannen.' *EM*, 36/1 (1725), unpag.

49 In Dutch: 'Vaar voortd boosaardig zaadt! en zal't aan magt ontbreken / By aardsche Mogentheên? dan zal't den Hemel wreken: / Zy scheurdt bereyts van een, en dreigt met Blixem Vuur / Ruk toe, uw Moordt-toneel, 't valt my te wrang en zuur.' *EM*, 36/1 (1725) (unpag).

50 *EM*, 36/1 (1725), p. 40; 37/1 (1726), p. 8.

5 Epilogue

All of the title prints discussed exemplify the reinforcement of the political and ecclesiastical views that were dominant in the Republic. During times of war one was supposed to close ranks, support one's politicians and engage in the joint struggle against the enemy. The extensive attention given to the entry of William III into The Hague also reflects the confrontation with the Catholic Stuarts who were attempting to dethrone him in England. The return of the Stuarts was also opposed in the Protestant Republic, explaining the particular attention paid to Jacobite conspiracies in the Dutch media and the fear of a Jesuit-led re-catholization of Europe.

The convulsions in Poland during the Catholic reformation at the beginning of the eighteenth century again reinforced the antipapism of the Republic's Protestants. We noted that Laurens Arminius, the editor of the *Europische Mercurius*, was extremely sensitive in this regard. However, he was not exactly unique in this respect. Jacob Campo Weyerman, for example, who was even more well known, shared his views, and contributed to the reinforcement of anti-Catholic feeling as a journalist and satirist. When in 1725 two of the volumes of his 'The History of the Papacy' were published, these were praised by Arminius in the *Europische Mercurius*. Afterwards, Weyerman's 'History' has been characterised as an 'antipapist stronghold'.⁵¹ In 1728, the poet and playwright Fredrik Duim again brought the executions in Toruń to the attention of the Dutch audience with his play *De gemartelde deugt binnen Thorn* ['The Torture of Virtue inside Thorn'].⁵²

We can conclude that title prints such as those of the *Europische Mercurius*, as well as various literary forms, helped maintain the current political and ecclesiastical culture. The Republic's Calvinist regents could be very satisfied with such public expression of views which, when disseminated, supported and reinforced their own convictions.

51 Reference to Weyerman's publication *De Historie des Pausdoms, of een Verhaal van de dwaalingen en bygeloovigheden, dewelke van tyd tot tyd zyn ingesloopen in de Kerk* (Amsterdam: s.n., 1728) in *EM*, 37/1 (1726), p. 82; Elly Groenenboom-Draai, *De Rotterdamse woelreus: De Rotterdamse Hermes (1720-'21) van Jacob Campo Weyerman: Cultuurhistorische verkenningen in een achttiende-eeuwse periodiek* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1994), pp. 258–268; Jan J.V.M. de Vet, 'Over Weyermans Historie des Pausdoms: Een verkenning vanuit voorgeborchten', in Peter Altena and Willem Hendrikx (eds.), *Het verlokkelijk ooft: Proeven over Jacob Campo Weyerman* (Amsterdam: Huis aan de Drie Grachten, 1985), pp. 101–141, at p. 101 (in this article attention is also paid to the events in Toruń).

52 De Vet, 'Over Weyermans historie', p. 132, note 6.

Publishers, Editors and Artists in the Marketing of News in the Dutch Republic Circa 1700: the Case of Jan Goeree and the *Europische Mercurius**

During the first decades of the eighteenth century the Dutch engraver and poet Jan Goeree (see Figure 7) designed several frontispieces for the news periodical *Europische Mercurius* [European Mercury].¹ He also drafted a number of rhymes to help the reader understand the meaning of the corresponding engravings. At the time, this semi-annual Amsterdam periodical was published by Andries van Damme. The *Europische Mercurius* was first issued in 1690 and would remain in print until 1756. It included monthly sections that summarized wars, politics, diplomacy and other news topics from across Europe. Most volumes included a few engravings related to news items as well as an engraved frontispiece devoted to current events. The *Europische Mercurius* was targeted at Dutch educated elites (regents, civil servants, merchants, Protestant ministers and so on) who stocked news digests on their bookshelves. While similar news digests were published in the Netherlands around 1700, the *Europische Mercurius* was the most significant.²

Van Damme was the *Europische Mercurius*'s second publisher, active between 1702 and 1726. He was not always satisfied with Goeree's working speed; at least, this is what the artist's posthumously published collection of rhymes (see Figure 8) suggests. The publisher's dissatisfaction is revealed in Goeree's

* This chapter was earlier published in Daniel Bellingradt, Paul Nelles and Jeroen Salman (eds.), *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe: Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017), pp. 143–167.

- 1 The term frontispiece has several meanings. In this case it concerns the original meaning as defined in Bibliopolis (www.bibliopolis.nl/index/index/lang/en [glossary] [consulted 11 February 2016]): 'engraved print preceding the printed title page; depicts one or more scenes related to the content of the work or offers an emblematic image.' However, a frontispiece could also be published directly on or opposite the title page.
- 2 Joop W. Koopmans, 'De presentatie van het nieuws in de *Europische Mercurius* (1690–1756)', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 23/3 (2000), pp. 117–133; idem, 'Storehouses of News: The Meaning of Early Modern News Periodicals in Western Europe', in Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond and Jeroen Salman (eds.), *Not Dead Things: The Dissemination of Popular Print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500–1820* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 253–273, at pp. 262–264.



FIGURE 7 Jacob Houbraken, *Portrait of Jan Goeree* (Amsterdam, s.a)
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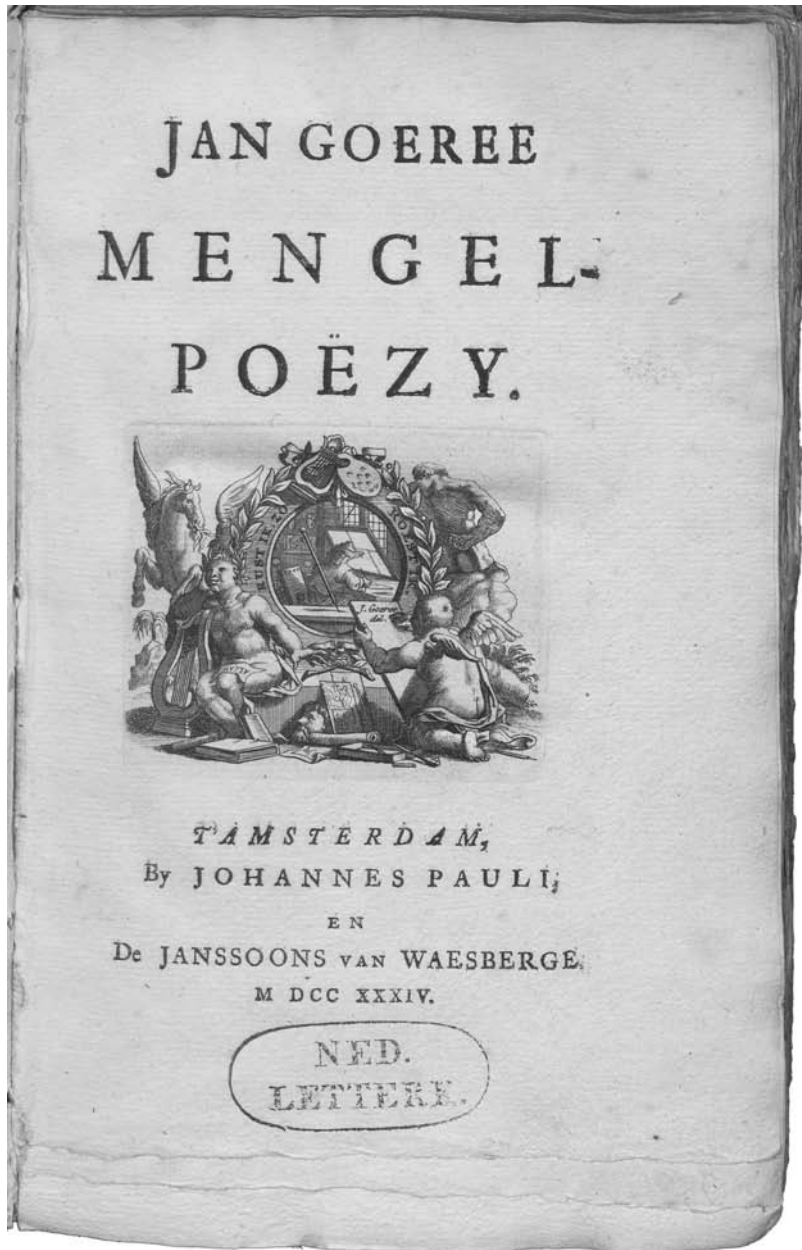


FIGURE 8 Title page of Jan Goeree's posthumously published collection of rhymes *Mengel poëzy, bestaande in huwelykszangen, verjaardichten, lyk- en graf-dichten, heldendichten en zegezangen, mengeldigedichten, en gezangen* (Amsterdam, 1734)

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short introduction to the 1726 *Europische Mercurius*'s title rhyme, which he announced as a 'warning to the spectator'. Goeree confesses to his audience that he was only able to finish three-quarters of the title page engraving due to Van Damme's impatience. The publisher had insisted on the delivery of the copperplate, while Goeree wished to complete the print in greater detail. The artist suggested that viewers should guess the meaning of the frontispiece. If they were unsuccessful, they should wake up Mercury—who is indeed sleeping in the engraving (see Figure 9)—and hope that the messenger of the gods would explain the print's subject to them.³

Van Damme was likely not amused. He certainly failed to publish Goeree's 'warning' in the first instalment of the 1726 *Mercurius*. It is also plausible that he considered the rhymes as a joke, meant for him alone. Or again, Van Damme may have never received Goeree's introductory lines. Whatever the case, Goeree provides a rather unique example of the social relationships between publishers and artists in the world of early modern news media. Although Goeree's rhyme gives a one-sided perspective, his self-mockery provides a rare glimpse into the interactions between these two groups. Sociality was a crucial aspect of the production process, as artists and publishers depended upon one another while also having their own specific responsibilities. Goeree's 'warning' was likely a creative—or perhaps frustrated—reaction to deadline reminders from his editor. For Van Damme, a delay in publication also meant a delay in the flow of revenue. Moreover, tardiness might result in a loss of consumer confidence in the publisher, damaging his reputation and further impeding sales.

This chapter considers the interactions between publishers, editors and artists in eighteenth-century Dutch news publications. It offers a rare glimpse of what took place behind the scenes in the print industry. The chapter begins by exploring the social spaces of informal communication between those in-

3 Jan Goeree, *Mengel poëzy, bestaande in huwelykszangen, verjaardichten, lyk- en grafgedichten, heldendichten en zegezangen, mengeldigedichten, en gezangen*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Johannes Pauli and de Jansoons van Waesberge, 1734), p. 147. This book was published by relatives on Jan Goeree's mother's side. In 1758 Albert van der Kroe published a second edition in Amsterdam. The warning's text in Dutch: 'Waarschouwing aan den beschouwer/Beschouwer, zie dees Tytel aan, / Als een, pas drie quart afgedaan; / En vraagt gy, hoe komt dat zo vies? / Door 't ongeduld van Anderies [Andries van Damme]; / Die wou, die zou, die moest de Plaat, / Dus ziet gy die in dezen staat; / 'k Hadt anders, Vrinden, u ontvouwt, / Wat dat het oog hier al beschouwt: / Nu zal het best zyn, en niet kwaad, / Dat gy wat naar den inhoud raadt; / En kunt gy niet? zo bidde ik wek / Merkuur, opdat die 't u ontdek.' The 1726 volume also includes a map of floods in the Dutch Republic designed by Jan Goeree (see part 1, next to p. 92).

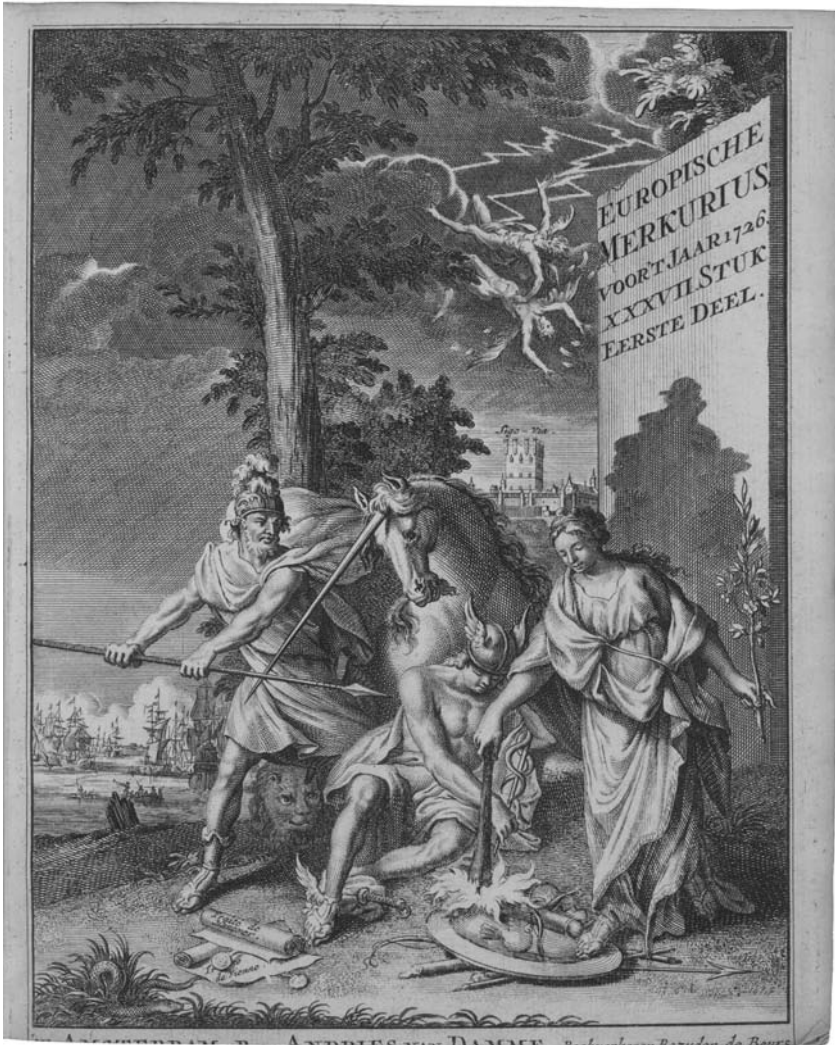


FIGURE 9 Frontispiece of *Europische Mercurius* 36 part 1 (1726). The frontispiece shows Mars (the god of war), Mercury (the messenger of the gods) and Pax (the goddess of peace). The unicorn symbolizes Great Britain and the lion represents the Dutch Republic. The engraving includes references to the 1726 news about Europe's diplomatic results, such as the treaties between the Holy Roman Emperor and Spain (concluded in Vienna), and Great Britain, France and Prussia (concluded in Hanover). At the time the British navy was acting in the Baltic Sea and in the Caribbean. Furthermore, the engraving includes the Castle of Segovia, in which Spain's fired prime minister, the Dutch Duke and Baron John William of Ripperda, was kept as a prisoner.

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volved in news production. It was in these spaces that informal arrangements about assignments, deadlines and remuneration were made, information about content and potential contributors was gathered, and other decisions related to production were taken. The aim of this chapter, in other words, is to investigate the sociality and spatiality of production, illuminating the social spaces mobilized to create profitable and attractive publications. The central question is: what can we learn about the production process and marketing of news digests from close study of publishers' deployment of engravers? By addressing these illustrations the chapter will necessarily touch upon the materiality of production, as the inclusion of engravings implied a more extensive and complicated printing process than was needed for publications without them. This leads to further questions about the hidden strategies publishers employed to ensure the success of their enterprise, and about networks of contacts that could be mobilized in all stages of production and dissemination.

To answer the main question I will begin by focusing on frontispieces—and their corresponding rhymes—to explore the interplay between publishers, editors and artists. To get an idea of the ways in which publishers and their partners operated in this field, the scope of the business partnership between Jan Goeree and Andries van Damme in publishing the *Europische Mercurius* will be explored. Although we lack any direct sources such as accounts or correspondence, reasonable assumptions based on their publications and other circumstantial evidence can be made. This theme will be explored further in the second part of the chapter, which concentrates on other examples of the role of engraved illustrations in publishers' marketing strategies. For this we will turn to publishers' advertisements in the Dutch newspapers of the period. These explicitly refer to sales strategies and shed light on publishers' distribution methods.

We should first address the genre of news publication under discussion. The annual and semi-annual news digests studied here were hundreds of pages long. This meant a lengthy editing and production process. However, they could be a profitable genre for publishers because of their serial character. Once a publisher had established a series on the market and was capable of maintaining his readership over time, he would have at least one fixed source of income. Therefore, news series are relevant for our understanding of the motives and strategies of profitdriven early modern publishers. This aspect of research into the early modern book trade of course needs to be seen within the context of an increase in printed news more generally during the same era. The history of early modern printed news media is an essential part of print and book history. News media were published in a range of genres including newspapers, period-

icals, pamphlets and engravings. Printed news media expanded tremendously the variety of publishers' publications.⁴

We should also articulate the central premise of this chapter: that frontispieces—and, to a lesser extent, their corresponding rhymes—were used by early modern publishers as tools to attract consumers.⁵ As significant pieces of visual art, these 'paratexts' significantly increased both the cost and the commercial value of publications.⁶ The special status attributed to prints in periodical news publications can be inferred from, for example, the fact that the seventeenth-century annual *Hollandse Mercurius* [Holland Mercury]—the first long-running Dutch news digest and predecessor of the *Europische Mercurius*—included in its 1666 volume a list of all prints that had been published in the series since its inception in 1651. We should acknowledge, in other words, that in this period the inclusion of illustrations in news publications was in its infancy. In addition, illustrations were only possible where there was sufficient production time to commission and produce them. Finally, it is worth noting that frontispieces were also used as advertising material. They were, for instance, posted in shops where the publications were sold.⁷

1 Jan Goeree in the Triangle of Publisher, Editor and Artist

To return to Jan Goeree, it is obvious that we cannot conclude that he was a lazy or slow artist on the basis of one short rhyme. To understand Goeree, we need to know more about him as a person, the *Mercurius*'s production process and commercial strategies, and Goeree's other activities outside his work for the *Mercurius*. We might wonder, for instance, how much time Goeree was given to produce a frontispiece upon receiving a commission, and his working conditions more generally. When and how did the publisher Van Damme reimburse

4 See, e.g., Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), and the discussed literature about serial news publications in Daniel Bellingradt, 'Forschungsbericht: Periodische Presse im deutschen Sprachraum der Frühen Neuzeit / Research report: Early modern periodical press in German speaking Europe', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 69 (2014), pp. 235–248.

5 Garrelt Verhoeven and Piet Verkruisje, 'Verbeelding op bestelling: De boekillustratie', in Henk van Nierop etc. (eds.), *Romeyn de Hooghe: De verbeelding van de late Gouden Eeuw* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2008), pp. 146–169, at pp. 147–149, 151.

6 Cf. Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 7, who includes illustrations in the broad spectrum of paratexts that could be published together with the main text of a publication.

7 'Titelprent', *Algemeen Letterkundig Lexicon*, http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/dela012alge01_01/dela012alge01_01_01963.php (consulted 15 March 2014).

him for this, and was Goeree satisfied with the compensation? Was he asked to design engravings and compose explanatory rhymes in an open-ended fashion, or did the publisher ask him for each print or rhyme separately on an annual basis? These are only a few of the questions to be addressed before drawing conclusions.

Jan Goeree appears to have been a busy man. His motto was 'rust ik, zo roest ik' [when I rest, I will rust]. He was born in the Zeeland capital of Middelburg in 1670. At the age of ten his parents Willem Goeree and Elisabeth van Waesberghe moved with their children to Amsterdam. His mother belonged to the Amsterdam family of publishers and booksellers Janssonius van Waesberghe, which may have been the reason for his parents' relocation. In Amsterdam his father Willem worked as a printer and type founder and also authored books on aesthetics, history and theology. For a while he lived at the Rokin, a main street and canal in Amsterdam, where Andries van Damme also resided, close to the famous Stock Exchange.⁸ Around 1705 Van Damme published several of Willem Goeree's books.⁹

Physical proximity was an important factor in establishing and maintaining social relationships in early modern Europe. This aspect of 'static spatiality' seems a credible explanation for the initiation of social contacts that eventually led to business agreements—or vice versa—between the Goeree and Van Damme families.¹⁰ Social actors living near one another could easily arrange agreements orally. This was more practical, for instance, than maintaining relationships through correspondence. The concentration of a specific field of commercial or industrial activities in the same urban area was quite common in early modern Europe. The social actors involved needed the same material sources and attracted similar customers. In Amsterdam many printers, publishers and booksellers lived near the Stock Exchange and also Dam Square, close to what was then the city's harbour.¹¹ This whole area, visited by merchants and seamen, was also of significance for the news industry, which was highly dependent upon mobile individuals for both the delivery and consumption of news publications.

8 The *Europische Mercurius* has title pages with 'bezyden de Beurs' (next to the Stock Exchange) and 'bezuyden de Beurs' (south of the Stock Exchange).

9 Willem Goeree, *Inleydinge tot de Alghemeene Teycken-Konst: Een kritische geannoteerde editie*. Michael Kwakkelstein (ed.) (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 1998), pp. 17–27.

10 See the introduction of Bellingradt, Nelles and Salman (eds.) in their *Books in Motion*, concerning the different meanings of 'spatiality' and 'sociality', concepts that converge here.

11 See their addresses in volumes 3 and 4 of Isabella H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse Boekhandel, 1680–1725* (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1965–1967).

Jan Goeree's artistic aspirations, however, took him away from his father's printing business, which not he but two of his brothers took over following their father's death in 1711. Goeree learned the art of engraving from the painter and art theorist Gerard de Lairese,¹² and he subsequently received numerous commissions for book illustrations. He would go on to make hundreds of engravings over his lifetime. Relevant examples are the prints in Jan Baptista Wellekens and Pieter Vlaming's *Dichtlievende uitspanningen* [Poetry Loving Entertainment], printed by Goeree's father in 1710 and sold by Andries van Damme.¹³

Like his father, Jan Goeree did not concentrate on any single branch of activities. In 1705, for instance, he accepted the Amsterdam city government's request to coordinate the drawing of sketches for paintings meant for the most important ceiling in the town hall located at Dam Square.¹⁴ Another of his activities was translations, such as a Dutch translation of Paul Scarron's tragedy *Le Prince Corsaire* in 1707. He also translated and illustrated a French work about medals celebrating the reign of Louis XIV, also published by Andries van Damme in 1712.¹⁵

Jan Goeree's involvement in the *Europische Mercurius* was long-term. Most of the anonymously printed frontispieces from the period 1712–1731 and several title rhymes of those years can be credited to him.¹⁶ However, the first title rhyme of Goeree's to be published in the *Europische Mercurius* dates from 1705. After this year the periodical did not include title rhymes again until 1715. In other words, the 1705 rhyme seems to be an occasional text, perhaps offered to Van Damme spontaneously.¹⁷ Other years without a title rhyme in the *Mer-*

12 Jan Goeree praised Gerard de Lairese in a few poems. See his *Mengel poëzy*, part 2, pp. 54–58.

13 See, e.g., the collection of the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum (www.rijksmuseum.nl/ [Jan Goeree] [consulted 1 October 2014]).

14 In this project Goeree cooperated with Simon Schijnvoet. Robert-Jan te Rijdt, 'Getekende ontwerpen voor beeldhouwers: Nicolaas Verkolje en Jan Goeree', in Edwin Buijsen etc. (eds.), *Kunst op papier in de achttiende eeuw: Liber amicorum aangeboden aan Charles Dumas ter gelegenheid van zijn 65ste verjaardag* (Zoetermeer: s.n., 2014), pp. 168–181, at p. 176.

15 The main title in Dutch: *Historische gedenk-penningen van Lodewyk den XIV*. Pieter Gerardus Witsen Geysbeek, *Biographisch anthologisch en critisch woordenboek der Nederduitsche dichters*, part 2 (Amsterdam: Schleyer, 1822), pp. 390–394.

16 More details in Joop W. Koopmans, 'Jan Goeree en zijn ontbrekende titelgedichten in de *Europische Mercurius* (1713, 1718, 1719 and 1727)', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 26/2 (2003), pp. 73–90.

17 Before 1705 only the 1693 volume of the *Europische Mercurius* was provided with a title rhyme, written by Thomas Arendsz (or Arents), a poem that was also posthumously published—with a few spelling and other variances—in his *Mengel poëzy*. Matthaeus

curius within Goeree's period of involvement would follow (1718, 1719 and 1727). Thus the publication of title rhymes was not common practice during the first decades of the periodical's existence. Furthermore, it seems to suggest that Van Damme considered the insertion of the frontispiece as more important than the title rhyme.

Another interesting but difficult to answer question is whether or not Goeree had a free hand in designing the engravings commissioned by the *Europische Mercurius* and, if not, what kind of instructions he received. Van Damme may have asked Goeree to concentrate on specific topics. It is also reasonable—perhaps even more so—that the news periodical's editor functioned as advisor to the artist, given that the editor was most familiar with the volume's textual content.

Goeree worked under three different editors of the *Europische Mercurius*. Unfortunately only the editors' initials are given: J.C., L.A. and J.H. The identity of J.C. has proven elusive, making it impossible to establish any possible connections with Goeree. The initials L.A., however, surely correspond with the lawyer Laurens Arminius, a great-grandson of the Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius.¹⁸ This editor worked for the project from summer 1718 until his death in early 1727.

It is clear that Goeree and Arminius belonged to the same circle of socially and spatially connected figures who populated the world of art and literature in Amsterdam. They very likely met one another in the city's coffee houses, for example *Het Gulden Vlies* (the Golden Fleece), also known as *De Nachtschuijt* (the Night Barge), which was run by their common friend, the actor and poet Robert Hennebo. This café was a popular venue for authors and artists, for instance Hermanus van den Burg mentioned above and also the prolific writer Jacob Campo Weyerman.¹⁹ Certainly Weyerman was familiar with Arminius.

Brouërius van Nidek (ed.) (Amsterdam: Hendrik Bosch, 1724), pp. 93–95 (thanks to Anna de Haas for her reference). The 1705 frontispiece was made by the engraver Pieter Sluyter, Goeree's predecessor who had worked for the *Europische Mercurius* since 1702, leaving Amsterdam in 1711. Goeree and Sluyter were acquaintances and cooperated during these years. See, e.g., the poem that Goeree wrote for Sluyter, *Mengel poëzy*, part 2, pp. 182–183.

18 Daniëlle Geuke, 'Laurens Arminius en zijn "bijzonderheden"', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 15 (1992), pp. 113–119, at p. 115.

19 Its location was the Amsterdam Oudezijds Voorburgwal, which was not far from Dam Square. Gerard Schelvis and Kees van der Vloed, *Jenever en wind: Leven, werk en wereld van Robert Hennebo (1686–1737)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2008), pp. 30, 97; Inger Leemans and Gert-Jan Johannes, *Worm en donder: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1700–1800: de Republiek* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2013), p. 266.

He rather condescendingly characterized Arminius as ‘the snappy little Mercury author’ who (taking aim at his Dutch prose exhibited in the *Mercurius*) wrote better in Latin than in his mother tongue. He also pretended to compliment the rhetorical talents Arminius employed in the coffee house to calm down troublemakers. Furthermore, Weyerman quoted Hennebo, who sarcastically remarked that Arminius resembled his famous ancestor. In his opinion both were agitators: the great-grandfather, as he had caused a schism in the Dutch Reformed Church, and the great-grandson, as he was a firebrand in the pub.²⁰ In poems written after Arminius’s death in 1727, Goeree too recalled that Laurens Arminius was known for cursing and shouting.²¹ In another poem he praised Arminius’s talents and called him a friend.

This same poem, however, was not written in memory of Arminius alone. It also memorializes Van Damme, the publisher of the *Europische Mercurius*, who died the same year. The poem’s title recalls how the two most important figures of the *Europische Mercurius* vanished that year. Two-thirds of the rhyme deals with Van Damme, in which Goeree admires the publisher’s qualities but also recalls several amusing events in rather vague terms targeted at insiders.²²

Kinship networks were also of significance. Many publishing families in the Low Countries were connected to one another through the female line. It is thus important to not focus research on male figures alone. Women often came to the fore after the death of a spouse, running the firm as ‘widow of’ followed by the husband’s surname. While at times women worked only until other family members were able to take over, in many cases they assumed permanent direction of the press.²³ This was not unique to the Netherlands, as Helen

20 Quotes in Dutch: ‘het bits Merkuur-Schryvertje; ‘Den gewezen Zoons Zoon van den Groten Armyn, (...) schreef beter in de Latynsche als in zyn Moeders taal. Zyn Europische Mercurius bewaarheyt myn stelling (...); ‘(...) gy doet zien dat gy een echte zoons zoon zyt van den beruchten Armyn, want die maakte een scheuring in de Duytsche kerk, en gy steekt de trompet van oproer in een Fransche kroeg.’ Jacob Campo Weyerman, *De zeldzaame levens-byzonderheden van Laurens Arminius, Jakob Campo Weyerman, Robert Hennebo, Jakob Veenhuysen, En veele andere beruchte persoonaadgien etc.* (Amsterdam: Barent Dass, 1738), voorreden (unpaged, [6]), pp. 22–23, 33.

21 Goeree, *Mengel poëzy*, part 1, p. 216.

22 Text in Dutch: ‘TWEË VLIËGEN/MET EENE KLAP/OF/LYK-GRAP,/Op het verdwynen/Der twee voornaamste Figuurē/Uyt de Europische Merkuuren.’ Goeree, *Mengel poëzy*, part 1, pp. 217–221. Goeree gives the impression that Van Damme could speak Malay (in Dutch: ‘En gij Andreas [Andries van Damme]! zo volleerd/ In het Mal-leyds, hoe is’t verkeerdt’), while this could be expected from Arminius who had been in the Netherlands East Indies between 1703 and 1705. Therefore, it is more logical that Goeree meant the local dialect of Leiden, as this was the city where Van Damme had grown up.

23 Hannie van Goinga, ‘Schaduwbeelden: Vrouwen in het boekenvak in de vroegmoderne

Smith's recent research on women in the early modern English book industry has shown.²⁴ In the case of Andries van Damme, his wife only completed her deceased husband's activities during the year in which he passed away, whereupon she moved to Leiden. She is mentioned as 'de Weduwe [the Widow] Andries van Damme' in the 1727 title print of the *Europische Mercurius*.²⁵

The deaths of both the editor and the publisher of the *Mercurius* in 1727 must have interrupted production at the periodical. A new editor was found in the person of 'J.H.', who most probably is the author and translator Johannes Haverkamp.²⁶ One of his translations, *Onderzoek over de Nederduitsche tooneelpoëzie* [Research about Dutch Theatre Poetry; 1724], of which the original was written by the French author Pierre Corneille, contains an illustration by Goeree on its title page.²⁷ This provides some indication that Haverkamp and Goeree were already familiar with one another before Haverkamp became involved with the *Mercurius*.

The 1727 print is striking. It contains two skeletons representing Arminius and Van Damme, along with several other symbols of death and a mourning female figure (see Figure 10). Goeree's explanatory text speaks about the two bags of bones symbolizing the mercury's editor and publisher, who have gone to the 'Elysian Fields'.²⁸ The remainder of the print makes reference to deceased sovereigns and their successors, particularly in Great Britain where George II succeeded his father that same year.

The second half-year volume of 1727 would be published by Andries's nephew, Hendrik van Damme Jansz. His advertisement in the Leiden newspaper of 1 March 1728 mentions the fact that he had taken over his deceased uncle's

tijd: een nieuw terrein van onderzoek', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 12 (2005), pp. 13–28 (with further bibliography on England, France and Germany).

24 Helen Smith, *Grossly Material Things: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), particularly ch. 3, pp. 87–134 (thanks to Andrew Pettegree for this reference).

25 This volume's title page, however, suggested that Andries van Damme was still alive.

26 Koopmans, 'De presentatie van het nieuws', p. 120.

27 *Onderzoek over de Nederduitsche tooneelpoëzie* (Amsterdam: Anthoni Schoonenburg, 1724): Gerrit Kamphuis, 'De ondergang van de rei in het Nederlandsche treurspel', *De Nieuwe Taalgids*, 40 (1947), pp. 8–13, at p. 11.

28 The text in Dutch: 'Beschouwers die hier staat, en ziet./En vat deez' Tytels inhoud niet,/Zo luytstert toe, ik zalze ontleeden./De twee Scherminkels hier beneden,/Ter wederzyds het Tytel-schild,/Verbeelden hier, indienje wilt,/ d'Authour en Drukker der Merkuuren,/Die beyde zyn haar piek gaan schuuren/ Naar 't akelig Elizeesche Veld,/Daar d'een aan d'ander nu vertelt/Hoe zy 't op hun verscheiden lieten/Op d'Aard; die hen scheen te verdrieten.'



FIGURE 10 Frontispiece of *Europische Mercurius* 37 part 1 (1727). It shows Pax (the goddess of peace) and Mars (the god of war), which means that Europe still had strained relations. Next to George II's succession to the throne in Great Britain, it refers to Russia's tsar Peter II, who succeeded Catherine I in 1727.
UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN LIBRARY, THE NETHERLANDS (PHOTOGRAPH DIRK FENNEMA, HAREN, THE NETHERLANDS)

enterprise.²⁹ Hendrik continued in this role until 1730, when he decided to pursue his publishing business in Leiden.³⁰ The *Europische Mercurius* then passed into the hands of another female publisher, Maria Lijbrechts, the widow of the Amsterdam publisher and bookseller Johannes Ratelband.³¹ Although it is possible that Ratelband—who had cooperated with Andries van Damme in a few publications—had prepared the deal before his death in 1730, it is clear that his widow was eager to re-establish the success of the *Mercurius* following a period that she characterized as one of decline. During the same year in which she took over the venture, she married the paper seller Bernardus van Gerrevink. Maria Lijbrechts is mentioned as the widow of J. Ratelband on the *Mercurius*'s first half-year title page of 1730, after which it became 'Heirs of J. Ratelband and Company'.³²

The changes at the *Mercurius* meant that Goeree needed to make arrangements about his contributions with several new figures. The periodical's new publishers were evidently satisfied with Goeree's efforts, as they continued to engage him to produce prints. The anonymously published title rhyme and frontispiece of 1730 would be Goeree's final contribution to the news digest before his death in early 1731. The illustrator's demise passed without remark in the *Mercurius*. This was normal for the time, when editors and engravers worked anonymously, or were at best acknowledged by their initials.

29 *Leydse Courant* [Leiden Newspaper], 1 March 1728. All dates in this article concern the Gregorian calendar.

30 Hendri(c)k Jansz van Damme's mother was Catharina Engelgraaf. When she was a sister of Judith Engelgraaf, Hendrik was also Judith Engelgraaf's nephew. Andries van Damme and Judith Engelgraaf were witnesses at Hendrik's baptism. Erfgoed Leiden en omstreken: Doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken Leiden, archive 1004, inventory number 245 (2 September 1704). So far, I have not found evidence of any children of Andries van Damme and Judith Engelgraaf, which makes succession by a nephew comprehensible.

31 Johannes Ratelband was born in 1672.

32 This volume's announcement in the *Amsterdamse Courant* ['Amsterdam Newspaper'] of 31 August 1730 also speaks about the 'widow of J. Ratelband'. Gerrevink's name did not appear on the news periodical's title pages before 1747, when he became a member of the Amsterdam printing guild. After he passed away in 1748 Maria L(e)ijbrechts returned to the title pages as 'widow Gerrevink'. She probably ended her business in 1750. Koopmans, 'De presentatie van het nieuws', p. 119.

2 The Use of Illustrations as a Selling Point and Other Merchandising Policies

The case of Jan Goeree and his publishers, in particular Andries van Damme, indicates that hiring artists to produce illustrations formed a routine part of publishers' marketing strategies. On the other hand, we may assume that established artists only took the plunge with publishers they trusted. Working for periodical news media such as the *Europische Mercurius* must have been attractive as it offered the prospect of additional, and potentially regular, income. It also helped to augment an artist's reputation among publishers, as the latter would have known the names behind even anonymously printed engravings. After all, publishers, editors and artists formed relatively small circles. Their shared social connections sustained the publishing industry. Although it was a competitive business, these groups likely exchanged information about artists and commissions.

A similar pattern of long-term contacts between Dutch news publishers and engravers can be seen in the relationship between the *Hollandse Mercurius* and the artist Romeyn de Hooghe. This news digest appeared annually, first printed in Haarlem by Pieter Casteleyn in 1651.³³ De Hooghe began producing frontispieces for the 1669 edition, at the very beginning of his career. He would become the most famous Dutch engraver of the century. His success did not impede continued collaboration with the journal, as he designed all the title page engravings until the end of the *Hollandse Mercurius* in 1691.³⁴

Another example can be found in the early years of the *Europische Mercurius* itself. The first publisher of the digest, Timotheus ten Hoorn, evidently understood that he needed a skilled engraver to compete with the famous Romeyn de Hooghe. Ten Hoorn consequently engaged Jan Luyken, an experienced engraver and illustrator. Luyken had already produced a number of frontispieces for *Le Mercure Hollandois*, the French-language edition of the *Hollandse Mercurius*. He produced the frontispiece for the first volume of the *Europische Mercurius* in 1690, and would continue to work for the digest

33 Koopmans, 'Storehouses of News', pp. 259–260; Garrelt Verhoeven and Sytze van der Veen, *De Hollandse Mercurius: Een Haarlems jaarboek uit de zeventiende eeuw* (Haarlem: Bubbe Kuyper Veilingen, 2011), pp. 22–31, 78–80. Abraham Casteleyn's continuation of the project was announced in the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* [Sincere Haarlem Newspaper] on 3 and 10 April 1677.

34 Verhoeven and Van der Veen, *De Hollandse Mercurius*, pp. 62–63; see also Van Nierop etc. (eds.), *Romeyn de Hooghe*, particularly Verhoeven and Verkruijsse, 'Verbeelding op bestelling', pp. 157–158. The only volume not to include one of De Hooghe's engravings is that of 1677.

until 1701.³⁵ Luyken received additional commissions from both Timotheus ten Hoorn and his brother Jan, another Amsterdam publisher and bookseller.³⁶

In 1702 Timotheus ten Hoorn sold his news venture to Andries van Damme and his partner Daniel van den Dalen.³⁷ It is unclear why the new publishers did not engage Luyken, employing Pieter Sluyter instead. Luyken may well have been offered the commission and considered the transfer to new publishers to be a good moment to conclude his participation in the venture. Furthermore, he may possibly have suggested Sluyter, with whom he had collaborated in several projects, as a suitable successor.³⁸ At any rate, this indicates yet again that commissions in this field were direct agreements between publishers and artists.

Engaging an artist and mentioning the inclusion of engravings on the title page—which became standard practice—did not guarantee success. Publishers used additional strategies to persuade the public to purchase their wares. Dutch publishers had long used printed newspapers to announce new publications. They were the first early modern entrepreneurs to use advertising as a means to connect with booksellers and consumers. Newspaper advertisements for books, pamphlets, periodicals, maps and other genres of printed material contained pertinent information regarding titles, authors, formats and the addresses of publishers.³⁹ Details about contents or prices were also often publicized. The inclusion of engraved illustrations was also vaunted. Advertisements for the *Hollandse* and *Europische Mercurius* repeatedly drew attention

35 The 1696 frontispiece was made by Jan Luyken's son, Casper Luyken. He may have assisted his father with other title page engravings for the *Europische Mercurius*, although this is difficult to demonstrate considering the great similarities in their styles. Pieter van Eeghen, *Het werk van Jan en Casper Luyken*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: F. Muller & Co., 1905), vol. 1, pp. 200–205 and vol. 2, pp. 791–792.

36 Hendrik van 't Veld, *Beminde broeder die ik vand op 's werelts pelgrims wegen: Jan Luyken (1649–1712) als illustrator en medereiziger van John Bunyan (1628–1688)* (Utrecht: De Banier, 2000), pp. 88, 93, 473.

37 Frank Peeters, 'Timotheus ten Hoorn, uitgever van de *Europische Mercurius*', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 24 (2001), pp. 43–45. See also *Amsterdamse Courant*, 1 July 1702. The bookseller Van den Dalen, working in Amsterdam until 1699 and thereafter in Leiden, was involved in the project until 1715.

38 Nel Klaversma and Kiki Hannema, *Jan en Casper Luyken te boek gesteld: Catalogus van de boekencollectie Van Eeghen in het Amsterdams Historisch Museum* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999); on Sluyter and his activities see Marinus G. Wildeman, 'De groote kaart van Delfland van 1712', *Oud Holland. Nieuwe bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche kunst, letterkunde, nijverheid, enz.*, 18 (1900), pp. 233–244, at pp. 235, 237, 243.

39 See Andreas Golob, 'Links Between Newspapers and Books: The Case of an Early "Media Tycoon" in Late Eighteenth-Century Central Europe', in Bellingradt, Nelles and Salman (eds.), *Books in Motion*, pp. 111–141.

to illustrations, attempting to lure the public with the promise of '(many) copperplates'.⁴⁰ The phrase normally needs to be taken with a pinch of salt, as most volumes contained only a handful of prints in addition to the title page engraving, with a maximum of six as found in the *Hollandse Mercurius* of 1677.

Frequently publishers described which illustrations customers could expect. In 1700 Timotheus ten Hoorn, for example, promised prints depicting the Battle of Narva and Muscovite warfare derived from the conflict then raging between Russia and Sweden.⁴¹ In 1734, the *Europische Mercurius* advertised in the Amsterdam newspaper that the next issue would include engravings of the Italian city of Gaeta, the German city of Philippsburg and the Polish-Lithuanian city of Danzig (present-day Gdańsk), all three of which were plagued by war.⁴²

Illustrations were also sold separately. At the end of 1732 the *Europische Mercurius* advertised in the Leiden newspaper, indicating that an illustration could be bought separately for the price of three stivers.⁴³ Although the separate sale of prints was not uncommon, one gets the impression that the publisher had produced too many copies of this print, perhaps expecting unusually high demand because of its dramatic topic: an illustration of shipworms destroying wood. Shipworms were much feared in the Netherlands at the time, as they caused great damage to the dikes—constructed of wooden stakes—that could result in flooding. The presence of the invasive molluscs in the dikes had

40 E.g., *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 11 May 1675: the previous 25 volumes of the *Hollandse Mercurius*, 'met hare Platen' (with their prints); 8 February 1676: the previous 26 volumes of the same periodical, 'met veel kopere Platen verciert' (illustrated with many sheet-coppers); 10 June 1683 and 16 May 1686: successively volume 33 and 36 of the *Hollandse Mercurius*, 'met Kopere Platen' (with sheet-coppers); 21 September 1700: volume 11 part 1 of the *Europische Mercurius*, also 'met Kopere Platen'; 4 May 1702, volume 12 part 2, also 'met Kopere Platen'. These advertisements have been retrieved from the digital database of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library) in The Hague: www.delpher.nl (consulted 11 February 2016) (keywords 'mercurius' and 'mercurii'). Although this database includes thousands of copies of early modern newspapers, many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century copies have been lost, and not all available copies have been digitized. Furthermore, the OCR technique is far from perfect, which means that search actions with keywords will not retrieve all possible results.

41 *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 5 April 1701. An example of a very extensive content description of a new *Europische Mercurius* volume can be found in *Leydse Courant*, 12 August 1748.

42 *Amsterdamse Courant*, 8 and 18 March 1735. See also, e.g., *Leydse Courant*, 26 February, 20 August and 8 September 1734, 18 March 1735, 7 September 1739, 14 August 1743, 7 March 1744, 23 February and 8 August 1746; *Amsterdamse Courant*, 16 August, 6 September 1736, 22 July 1741, 11 February 1744; *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 11 and 13 August 1739, 3 August 1743, 13 August 1746.

43 *Leydse Courant*, 24 December 1732.

recently been discovered, and the 1732 *Mercurius* reported extensively on their effects in Holland and Zeeland.⁴⁴ The impaired wood was also a topic of the news periodical's 1732 frontispiece.⁴⁵

Not all newspaper announcements were as detailed as the above examples. Particularly in the case of long-lasting periodicals, after several years readers must have been familiar with the kind of content that could be expected, which meant that short announcements would suffice. In 1717, for example, Andries van Damme ended a book advertisement in the Haarlem newspaper with the simple message: 'NB. The *Europische Mercurius* of the first 6 Months of this year has also been recently published.'⁴⁶ An advertisement in 1752 confidently made reference to the *Europische Mercurius*'s 'brand': 'This work is well-known by lovers of history and politics, thus it is unnecessary to recommend it.'⁴⁷ In 1754, the Hague bookseller Frederic Henric Scheurleer, one of the last publishers of the *Europische Mercurius*, appealed directly to booksellers: 'At F.H. Scheurleer, bookseller in The Hague, has been printed and will be sent to the booksellers in this and other cities and provinces, the Nederlands Gedenk-boeck, of *Europische Mercurius* for the last six Months of the year 1754 (...).'⁴⁸ He thus used advertising to both organize distribution and reach potential readers.

Just as today, it was difficult to sell volumes in stock once regular sales had stagnated. This explains the common practice of early modern Dutch publishers of advertising a 'series' of previously published volumes. In early 1690, for instance, the Haarlem newspaper included an advertisement mentioning that the entire run of the *Hollandse Mercurius* from 1650 until 1688 could be ordered, which would cost, unbound—an interesting aspect of materiality—17 guilders. This meant a discount of approximately one-third of the normal

44 *Europische Mercurius*, 43 (1732), part 1, pp. 297–308 (print next p. 297).

45 Joop W. Koopmans, 'The Early 1730s Shipworm Disaster in Dutch News Media', *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Countries Studies*, 40/2 (2016), pp. 139–150, at pp. 145–147. [This volume's chapter ten.]

46 The Dutch text: 'NB. De *Europische Mercurius* van de 6 eerste Maenden deses Jaers is nu oock uytkomen.' *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 2 September 1717.

47 Text in Dutch: 'Dit werk de liefhebberen der historien en staatkunde genoeg bekend zynde, en dus onnodig daarvan eenige aanpryzyng te maken (...).' *Leydse Courant*, 8 May 1752.

48 Text in Dutch: 'By F.H. Scheurleer, boekverkoper in 's Gravenhage, is gedrukt en word aan de boekverkopers in deze en andere steden en provincien verzonden, het Nederlands Gedenk-boek, of *Europische Mercurius* voor de zes laatste Maanden van het jaar 1754 (...).' *Leydse Courant*, 23 December 1754 and 1 January 1755. This volume was ready at a very early stage. Scheurleer had purchased the *Europische Mercurius* from Maria Lijbrechts in 1749, as announced in the *Amsterdamse Courant* of 5 August 1749, in which Lijbrechts is mentioned as his Amsterdam selling address.

price. Noteworthy is the advertisement's last sentence, which announced that the publisher would continue publication of the series.⁴⁹ However, this would be the last issue as the *Hollandse Mercurius* ceased operations in 1691. The publisher's widow attempted to clear out the store's bookshelves in April of that year by advertising the sale of the whole series—this time until 1689, and for the price of 18 guilders—in her own Haarlem newspaper. After the publication of the last issue in July, the price increased to 24 guilders.⁵⁰ It is unclear whether the sale of such series consisted of first runs or reprints (or some mixture of the two). Reprints were frequently used to profit from the earlier success of the same title.

Most early modern advertisements were rather neutral and did not employ aggressive selling strategies or attempt to mislead readers. Nevertheless, booksellers sometimes tried to persuade potential buyers by mentioning that only a few copies were still available.⁵¹ Consumers obviously could not verify the truth of such claims, yet the fact that this strategy is still used today indicates that it likely worked. In 1744, the *Europische Mercurius*'s publisher tested a new strategy to increase sales. When readers purchased all half-year volumes printed since 1740 (at the price of one guilder and eight stivers each), they would find 'the complete history from the death of Emperor Charles VI [in 1740] until the present', in other words, all the news about the ongoing War of the Austrian Succession. Mention of the volume's price was also new. Such information had

49 *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 2 February and 2 March 1690. The advertisement in Dutch: 'Abraham Casteleyn, genegen, eenige Compleete Hollantse Mercurii, beginnende met den Jare 1650 en eyndigende met den Jare 1688 incluys, voor een seer Civile Prijs te verkopen, praesenteert deselve in de naeste Maenden van February, Maert en April, 1690, voor seventien Guldens contant ongebonden; en also omtrent een derdepart minder, als sy tot nog toe gekost hebben. Ymant, een of meer begerende, kan sulckx 't Gelt daer by sendende, binnen dien tijd aen hem laten weten. Ondertussen continueert hy 't drucken van 't Vervolg op deselve Mercurius.' See also, e.g., *Leydse Courant*, 6 July 1731 (series of *Europische Mercurius* 1690–1730).

50 *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 5 and 7 April (together with the announcement of volume 41, which was the last), and 5 July 1691; Verhoeven and Van der Veen, *De Hollandse Mercurius*, pp. 87–88. In 1699 Timotheus ten Hoorn offered the *Europische Mercurius* volumes of 1690–1699 for 20 guilders. *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 7 April 1699. In 1740 Heirs of J. Ratelband and Company offered the whole *Europische Mercurius* series from 1690 onwards (50 volumes) for 100 guilders. *Amsterdamse Courant*, 6 August 1740 and *Leydse Courant*, 8 August 1740. In 1752 the *Europische Mercurius* series from 1735 until 1751 was offered temporarily for the price of 36 guilders, after which it would become again 51 guilders. *Leydse Courant*, 8 May 1752.

51 See, e.g., *Amsterdamse Courant*, 24 February 1705; *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 8 March and 13 August 1718.

been unusual in the news periodical's advertisements until then.⁵² The next year the publisher repeated this ploy,⁵³ which may imply that this form of merchandising was fruitful.

Advertisements also attempted to stimulate sales by broadcasting where issues could be purchased. It was advertised in the Haarlem newspaper of 1678 that the *Hollandse Mercurius*, in addition to being available at the publisher's Haarlem premises, was 'also available in Amsterdam at Pieter Arentsz, Hendrick and Dirck Boom, and other booksellers'.⁵⁴ An endemically Dutch mode of transport was mentioned in an advertisement in the Amsterdam newspaper of 1744: the new *Europische Mercurius* volume was available and would be sent everywhere 'by open water'.⁵⁵ Amsterdam, as an international harbour city and also a junction of barge transportation within the country, was an eminently suitable location for organizing the distribution of books by water transport.

News periodical series gained a second life when the complete libraries of deceased citizens were sold. Several Dutch newspapers in 1744, for instance, announced the sale of the late lawyer Cornelis Keyser's library by the Delft bookseller Reinier Boitet. Keyser's library included the complete *Hollandse Mercurius* series from 1650 until 1690 and the *Europische Mercurius* from 1690 until 1743.⁵⁶ Such advertisements are useful indicators of the sustained audience for these publications.

The *Europische Mercurius* ceased publication in 1756. It is striking that the digest did not include frontispieces—and only included a few other engravings—during its last five years. Failing to meet customer's expectations, the lack of illustrations may well have contributed to the periodical's decline. Its popular successor, the *Maandelykse Nederlandsche Mercurius* [Monthly Netherlands Mercury], started publication in Amsterdam in the same year. The new *Mercurius* announced on its title page that it was illustrated with copperplate engravings, and boasted of characters printed in red ink. The Hague may also have been deemed less suitable than Amsterdam for the production of a

52 *Leydse Courant*, 10 August 1744; *Amsterdamse Courant*, 13 August 1744.

53 *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 23 and 25 February 1745.

54 Text in Dutch: 'zijn mede te bekomen tot Amsterdam by Pieter Arentsz, Hendrick en Dirck Boom en andere Boeckverkopers.' *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 3 May 1678. Thanks for this advertisement to Hannie van Goinga, who browsed several newspapers in their original form.

55 *Amsterdamse Courant*, 11 February 1744. In Dutch: 'en zal met open water alom verzonden werden (...).'

56 's *Gravenhaegse Courant* [The Hague Newspaper], 30 March 1744; *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 31 March and 2 April 1744.

news digest. In many ways Amsterdam's social and spatial infrastructure was far more suitable for the publication and distribution of a news digest.

3 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to show that frontispieces and other engravings in Dutch news digests provide insight into the social relations and spaces of early modern publishers and other actors involved in the production of news media. Newspaper advertisements indicate that publishers were well aware of the added value of illustrations and used them as a marketing tool. From the evidence examined here, however, it is clear that there is much work to be done on the role of marketing and advertising in book history. Although advertisements were normally only a few lines in length, they included relevant data concerning titles, contents, formats, states of binding, prices, supplies and reprints, and also personal and geographical networks of publishers and booksellers, modes of transport and book auctions. In other words, they contain much information concerning several social, material and spatial processes normally hidden from view.

Illustrations of course required skilled engravers. It is likely that editors played a mediating role between publishers and artists to explain and discuss which topics were suitable for inclusion, as the connection between news and image needed to be evident and conspicuous. The case of Jan Goeree and the *Europische Mercurius* reveals how the spatial triangle between publishers, editors and artists functioned in the social production process of news digests. Inhabiting the same kinship networks and neighbourhoods, frequenting the same venues and interacting with common acquaintances was necessary in a world in which most agreements were discussed and made orally. It is clear that the role of artists deserves more attention in the field of book history, and that their role needs to be located more accurately in communication models. Their working speed could influence publication schemes, and—far more important—their material contribution could make a real difference in the commercial outcomes of publications due to the popularity of printed images and readers' expectations.

Research in Digitized Early Modern Dutch Newspapers and the News Value of Advertisements*

The history of printed newspapers in the Dutch Republic started most probably in Amsterdam at the end of the 1610s. The oldest known copy is an undated issue of *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschland, &c.* [Newspaper from Italy, Germany etc.] that was apparently published on 14 June 1618.¹ This happened thirteen years after the first newspaper had been published all over Europe, in the then German city of Strasbourg.² The Amsterdam issue included news from Venice, Prague, Cologne and The Hague, which indicates that most of the news items concerned foreign topics. During the seventeenth century, several Dutch newspapers began to appear in several of the other main towns of the province of Holland, and also in Utrecht City. The other Dutch provinces did not obtain their own long running newspapers before the 1740s. Nevertheless, the Republic has to be considered as an early and well-developed centre of printed news in Europe, because of all its seventeenth century news media services. This young state was also famous for its newspapers in other languages than Dutch, particularly in French.³

* This chapter was earlier published in Bernd Klesmann, Patrick Schmidt and Christine Vogel (eds.), *Jenseits der Haupt- und Staatsaktionen: Neue Perspektiven auf historische Periodika* (Bremen: edition lumière, 2017), pp. 95–111.

1 See www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten (retrieved at 24 November 2014). The original copy is stored in Kungliga Biblioteket, the national library of Sweden in Stockholm. For comments I am grateful to Jelle Krol.

2 Martin Welke, 'Johann Carolus und der Beginn der periodischen Tagespresse: Versuch, einen Irrweg der Forschung zu korrigieren', in idem and Jürgen Wilke (eds.), *400 Jahre Zeitung: Die Entwicklung der Tagespresse im internationalen Kontext* (Bremen: edition lumière, 2008), pp. 9–116.

3 Joop W. Koopmans, "Unverschämte und Ärgernis erregende Nachrichten verboten:" Politische Einmischung in niederländische Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts', in Welke and Wilke (eds.), *400 Jahre Zeitung*, pp. 123–138; Paul Arblaster, 'London, Antwerp and Amsterdam: Journalistic Relations in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century', in: Lotte Hellinga etc. (eds.), *The Bookshop of the World: The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-trade 1473–1941* ('t Goy-Houten: Hes and De Graaf, 2001), pp. 145–150, at pp. 146–147; Maarten Schneider (and Joan Hemels), *De Nederlandse krant 1618–1978: Van 'nieuwstydyinghe' tot dagblad* (Baarn: Het Wereldvenster, 1979), pp. 36–54.

Over the last years the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library) in The Hague has digitized thousands of Dutch newspaper copies. In 2014, its digital collection contained 8,085 issues from the period 1618–1699 and 77,666 from the period 1700–1799.⁴ As many of these copies are unique issues, the original paper versions of which are stored in different European libraries and archives, digitization of these newspapers has made Dutch press research much easier than before. Although the digitization project has several shortcomings and the digital collection is far from complete, its scale is big enough to answer all kinds of questions about changes in content and layout over the years, or about similarities and differences between newspapers that were published simultaneously. Before the era of digitization many of these questions were not asked, because answering them would have been too much time consuming. On the other hand, research in digital collections has raised new methodological problems, for example, the evaluation of statistically generated information while it is not clear how much press material has been lost.⁵ The interpretation of patterns in the so-called “big data” retrieved from digitized sources, as a result of new techniques such as Franco Moretti’s “distant reading”, has also evoked vivid debate recently.⁶

Focusing on the present knowledge about Dutch newspapers from the early modern era, one of the historiographical conclusions concerns the dominance of foreign news items. The publication of domestic news accounts about politics and religious affairs in newspapers was avoided, because publishers feared censorship. This is one of the main reasons why interior news remained a small percentage of all the news reports until the 1780s. Those were the years in which the so-called Patriots opened the press for political stands in the newspapers during their struggle against the Orangists. Before this happened, regional and local news items were almost absent. If they appeared at all, they were restricted to rather exceptional subjects. Furthermore, early modern newspapers in the Netherlands were not yet dailies. Therefore, in most cases the dispersion of news about events that had happened nearby was faster via oral channels than through the newspapers.⁷

4 See www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten (retrieved at 24 November 2014). Some issues have been digitized twice, thus these figures are not absolute. In 2016 (18 May) Delpher contained 8,559 issues from the period 1618–1699.

5 See, e.g., Marcel Broersma, ‘Nooit meer bladeren? Digitale krantenarchieven als bron’, *Tijdschrift voor Mediageschiedenis*, 14 (2011), pp. 29–55.

6 More about this technique in Franco Moretti: *Distant Reading* (London: Verso, 2013). See also chapter 4 ‘Big questions, big data’, in Jo Guldi and David Armitage, *The History Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014), pp. 88–116.

7 Schneider, *De Nederlandse krant*, pp. 65–66; Marcel Broersma, ‘Constructing Public Opinion:

More thorough research—by using new techniques in combination with “old-fashioned” close reading—will definitely lead to modifications in present views, for instance, on content distinctions between early modern Dutch newspapers. For the time being we can assume that the existing historiography about their news content is correct in general terms, at least when we only take the published news items into account. However, beside the news reports Dutch newspapers soon included more information. Within three years after their start they also began to publish commercial messages, which were mostly short announcements, more or less similar to the present-day classified advertisements. In the German language they are indicated with the characteristic noun *Kleinanzeigen*. In many eighteenth century issues they would fill half of the available space in the newspapers, or even more, all published below the news items and without a visible order.⁸

This article will reflect on the content and meaning of advertisements in the Dutch early modern newspapers, with the assumption that they did not purely have a commercial meaning, but also important side effects that should be integrated into the history of news supply. A new reading of this part of the newspapers, which has been ignored by media historians too long,⁹ will demonstrate that advertisements must also be considered as news, more precisely as interior news, because almost all advertisements came from Dutch providers and concerned domestic products or topics.¹⁰ In other words, by acknowledging the advertisements as contemporary news sources, the idea that early modern newspapers printed in the Netherlands were mainly focused on foreign events has to be revised.

Dutch Newspapers on the Eve of a Revolution (1780–1795)’, in Joop W. Koopmans (ed.), *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Leuven, Paris and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2005), pp. 219–235; Joop W. Koopmans, ‘Vroegmoderne kranten en regionaal besef in het noorden van de Republiek, circa 1740–1800’, in: Dick E.H. de Boer and Job A. Weststrate (eds.), *Tussen streek en staat: Identiteit, beeldvorming en functioneren van regio’s aan de rand van Nederland rond 1800* (forthcoming).

- 8 The then publishers often used the newspaper margins for including a few extra (news or commercial) messages in case of lack of space. See, e.g., *Amsterdamse Courant*, 10 May and 6 August 1740.
- 9 A recent exception is Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself* (London: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 299–307.
- 10 A few examples of advertisements of foreign advertisers are from the French founder of a horse riding school in Strasbourg in *Oprechte Haerlems(ch)e Courant*, 4 May 1683, and the ‘African American Company’ in the German city of Emden in *Amsterdamse Courant*, 22 November 1693. However, more research is needed in this respect as I could not yet study all early modern digital available advertisements for this article.

This article consists of two sections and a few final remarks. First I will give an impression of the different categories of Dutch commercial announcement that were published in the newspapers over the years. By doing so I will answer the question for which purposes advertisements were used. This will shed light on the extent to which they covered economic and societal domains. After this, I will further clarify the notion that early modern advertisements had a significant news value. My observations will be predominantly based on the available digital copies of the seventeenth century that can be retrieved via the Royal Library website www.delpher.nl/kranten.

1 Categories of Early Advertisements

As far as we know, Dutch newspapers did not include commercial announcements right from the start in 1618. Two messages in the 1 March 1621 *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren* [Tiding from several areas] can be considered as the first advertisements that can be retrieved from the set of digitized copies.¹¹ However, they did not yet include much commercial information (not even the publishers' names), and they were still presented in the same way as news reports. The first message concerned the announcement of a publication about the Spanish 'tyranny' against the Protestants in the Low Countries, and the second of a map of the Palatinate, made by Claes Jansz Visscher.¹² Like many other early modern Dutch newspapers, the newspaper *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren* consisted of only one folio sheet that was printed on both sides, each

11 I am grateful to Arthur der Weduwen for his information about advertisements in the 1620s, which will also become available via his bibliography *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers of the Seventeenth Century, 1618–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), and his volume with Andrew Pettegree: *News, Business and the Birth of Modern Advertising: Advertisements and Public Announcements in Dutch and Flemish Newspapers, 1620–1672* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

12 It concerned the book *De Spaensche tiranije gheschiet in Neder-lant* [The Spanish Tyranny happened in the Netherlands], published in Amsterdam in 1621 by Cornelis Lodewijcksz van der Plasse, and the map *Palatinatus Rheni nova et accurata descriptio*. This map was interesting for the Dutch audience because war was going on in the Palatinate at the time. Dick Kranen, *Advertenties van alternatieve genezers in de Oprechte Haerlemse Courant (1656–1733)* (Ede: Kranen, 2007), p. 19, quotes a text from *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren* of 1 June 1621 (based on Folke Dahl's bibliography *Dutch Corantos* [The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1946]), which should be the first advertisement. This text, about a printed book in The Hague, is also more similar to a news report than to an advertisement, as its publisher is not even mentioned.

with two columns.¹³ Occasionally a black line, at the back page included in its second column below all the news reports, revealed that another category of information would follow: late news reports and announcements.¹⁴ The 27 July 1624 issue of the *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, with the announcement that Broer Jansz and Jacob Pietersz [Wachter] had printed a book about Mexico and Peru in the New World, called *West-Indische Spieghel* [West-Indian Mirror], showed another technique. While the rest of the newspaper was typeset in Gothic letter, the advertisement was a mixture between words in Gothic and in Roman lettering, a clever way to attract the readers' attention. The Dutch start of advertising in newspapers during these years was, by the way, not unique, as it almost coincided with the beginning of commercial messages in the German and English news serials.¹⁵

Concerning Broer Jansz it has to be remarked that he was not only one of the printers of *West-Indische Spieghel*, but also the publisher of *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*. This means that he was advertising one of his own products in his own newspaper.¹⁶ Such a use became a common—and also an understandable—practice in the early modern Dutch newspapers. For the publishers involved it was a smart solution to fill up empty space, and a cheap channel to address a specific audience living in a large area. Soon many other publishers and printers, residing all over the country, followed suit, using the

13 During the first two years all newspaper issues only had one printed page. Since the summer of 1620 most of them would consist of minimal two pages. During the eighteenth century expansion to four or more pages would follow.

14 Dutch newspapers would mostly distinguish the news reports from the advertisements with different typography or column widths, while only incidentally use announcing words such as 'advertissement' (advertisement), 'waerschouwinge' (warning) or 'notificatie' (notification). Examples of these words in the Amsterdam newspapers *Ordinaris dingsdaeghe Courante*, 15 February 1660, 1 March 1663; *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.*, 5 January 1664; *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, 9 August 1664 and *Ordinaris middel-weeckse Courante*, 8 September 1665 (or the French word 'avertissement' in *La gazette d'Amsterdam*, 24 June 1666); also in *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 2 September 1670.

15 Peter Ukena, 'Buchanzeigen in den deutschen Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhundert' in: Albrecht Schöne (ed.), *Stadt—Schule—Universität—Buchwesen und die deutsche Literatur im 17. Jahrhundert: Vorlagen und Diskussionen eines Barock-Symposiums der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft 1974 in Wolfenbüttel* (Munich: Beck, 1976), pp. 506–522, at pp. 506, 508–509 (the oldest here mentioned advertisement dates from 21 February 1622)—thanks to Flemming Schock for this reference; Michael Harris, 'Timely Notices: The Uses of Advertising and its Relationship to News during the Late Seventeenth Century', *Prose Studies: History, Theory, Criticism*, 21 (1998), pp. 141–156, at p. 141.

16 Another advertisement of Broer Jansz in *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, e.g., 23 November 1624.

newspapers to advertise their products. By doing so they attracted far more customers than the reading population and visitors of their own cities and near surroundings.¹⁷ Pioneering advertisers in *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren* of 1624 and 1625 were the Amsterdam printers Jan Evertsz Cloppenburgh, Jodocus Hondius [the Second or Younger] and Claes Jansz Visscher, and their Leiden colleague Isaac Elsevier. Visscher announced, for instance, also the publication of a few maps, two of which concerned the 1624 Dutch capture of Salvador da Bahia in Brazil, and the third the Spanish siege of the Brabant city of Breda during the same year, together with the arrival of the army led by the 'Prince of Orange', i.e. Stadtholder Maurice.¹⁸ With this print genre he responded to current events of his time.¹⁹

The first advertisement that could be found in both Amsterdam newspapers dates from 10 August 1624. It announced Johannes de Brune's book *Emblemata of Zinne-werck*, published by Jan Evertsz Cloppenburgh.²⁰ In contrast to his Amsterdam competitor of *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, Jan van Hilten, the publisher of *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.*, did not yet make a lay-out difference between this advertisement and the issue's news reports. However, Van Hilten also soon introduced a black line between news reports and advertisements.²¹ Likewise, he published advertisements with both Gothic and Roman lettering.²²

The number of advertisements would increase very slowly for a long time. Although the 30 March 1630 issue of *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.*, for example, contained three announcements, many later issues had less, and

17 See also Ingrid Maier and René Vos, 'Van oude couranten de dingen die opduiken: Nieuw licht op de Haagse pers in de zeventiende eeuw', in *Jaarboek Die Haghe* (The Hague: Geschiedkundige Vereniging Die Haghe, 2004), pp. 10–35, at pp. 21–22. Other advertising publishers than the Amsterdam publishers mentioned in the digitized Amsterdam newspapers until 1643 also mainly resided in the province of Holland (Haarlem, Hoorn, Delft, Gorinchem, Dordrecht, Leiden, The Hague, Rotterdam and Enkhuizen), and, furthermore, in the provinces of Zeeland (Zierikzee and Middelburg), Overijssel (Zwolle, Kampen and Deventer), Utrecht (Utrecht City and Abcoude) and Friesland (Franeker).

18 *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, 10 and 31 August 1624, 19 October 1624, 11 and 25 January 1625.

19 Another early example: a map about the Battle of the Downs (21 October 1639) in *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, 14 April 1640.

20 The author's name is not mentioned in the announcement.

21 See, e.g., *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.*, 28 November 1626. Also late news reports could be published below the black line in this newspaper. See, e.g., the 24 December 1627 and 20 May 1628 issues.

22 See, e.g., *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.*, 3 June, 22 and 29 July 1628; 26 July 1629.

some of them did not have advertisements at all, even at the end of the seventeenth century.²³ This suggests that having a profitable newspaper in this age remained possible without many revenues of advertisements.²⁴ Around 1700, however, most newspaper issues contained circa five to ten announcements, followed by a significant growth during the next century.

Book historians in particular already indicated that advertisements were an almost exclusive domain of printers and publishers during the first decades in which they were published. The announcements included information about titles, reprints, new editions, paper formats, numbers of pages, illustrations, languages,²⁵ translations and the names of translators, availability, prices and special offers, catalogues, selling addresses, auctions, and many other aspects that can be related to the book industry. Over the years these advertisements must have made connoisseurs of books and other printed material more familiar with the publishers' specific fields of attention and their places of business. Announcements of new publications were not only meant for the general audience, but also used as ways to address colleagues and as an unofficial recording system for publishing rights.²⁶

23 See, e.g., *Amsterdamse Courant* (i.e. the successor of the *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.*), 5 August 1698.

24 Not much is known about tariffs. In 1752 the Leeuwarden newspaper started with three stivers for one line, which was changed—in November—in eight stivers for the first four lines and one stiver for each extra line. Marcel Broersma, *Beschaafde vooruitgang: De wereld van de Leeuwarder Courant* (Leeuwarden: Friese Pers Boekerij, 2002), p. 39. In 1759, the Haarlem newspaper asked six stivers for one line and the The Hague newspaper figured at nine stivers; in 1778–1779 also the newspapers of Leiden and Amsterdam had a tariff of nine stivers. Anna de Haas and Ton Jongenelen, 'Advertentietarieven in 1759 en 1778/79', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 36 (2013), pp. 175–176. According to Kranen, *Advertenties van alternatieve genezers*, pp. 25–26, in 1779, tariffs of the Haarlem newspaper varied between one guilder and one guilder plus four stivers for the first three lines and six to nine stivers for each extra line. Advertisements about books were the cheapest.

25 Examples of book titles in other languages than Dutch, e.g., *Tijdinghe uyt verscheide quartieren*, 22 January 1639, 19 July 1642, 28 March 1643; *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.*, 11 November 1642, 13 December 1642.

26 See, e.g., Jos A. Leenes, *Boekhandelsadvertenties in de "Oprechte Haerlemse Courant" 1658–1666* (Leiden: A Boekverkopers, 1999); Marika Kablusek, *Boeken in de hofstad: Haagse boekcultuur in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), pp. 101–102; Paul G. Hoftijzer, *Pieter van der Aa (1659–1733), Leids drukker en boekverkoper* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), p. 74; Hannie van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen: Veranderingen in de boekdistributie in de Republiek 1720–1800* (Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 1999), pp. 32–57. Van Goinga mainly focuses on the eighteenth century. About the German book advertisements: Ukena, 'Buchanzeigen', pp. 506–522.

Almost identical texts in different newspapers of the same date indicate that advertisers prescribed the content of their announcement; yet the typesetting process seems to account for differences, probably caused unconsciously as well as deliberately at the same time. For example, in each of the two Amsterdam newspapers of 26 January 1636 a short message of printer Jan Evertsz Cloppenburgh about a new arithmetic-book was published, but the two announcements contained several small deviations: a few capitals, an extra letter and an extra word, a hyphen, a space and an extra slash (i.e. comma), and two full names instead of initial letters. The Dutch text in *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*—printed in four lines—reads (differences in the texts are indicated in bold):

By Ian Evertsz Cloppenburgh is ghedruckt **Aritmetica** ofte **Reeckenkonst**
P. Rami, nu eerst **overgheset**, ende met veel **schoone** exempelen verclaert
door D. **Bernardum** Lampe Mathematicum.

However, the Dutch text in *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.*—printed within three lines—reads:

By Ian E. Cloppenburgh is ghedruckt **Arithmetica** ofte **Reecken-Const**
P. Rami, nu eerst **overgheset**, ende met veel exempelen verclaert, door
D.B. Lampe Mathematicum.²⁷

Dutch city governments and other secular authorities were the second group that discovered the newspapers as a suitable method to distribute information. Until now, the first example seems to be the Utrecht City authorities' permission concerning the foundation of an 'illustrious school' for the study of theology, law, philosophy and history, which was notified in the 27 May 1634 issue of *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.* After a few weeks, the official opening ceremony was also announced. It is interesting to remark that this message—in this case retrieved from *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*—mentioned two dates: 17 June 1634 'old style' and 27 June 1634 "new style".²⁸ At the time, the province of Utrecht still used the old (Julian) calendar, while the province of Holland, in which the mentioned newspaper was printed, had the new (Gregorian) calendar. In 1636, both Amsterdam newspapers included

27 This example shows once more that search actions in digital sources with only key words can go wrong very easily.

28 *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, 17 June 1634. The *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.* issue of the same date does not contain this message.

the announcement that the States of Utrecht had transformed the Illustrious School into a university, after which its professors had the right to grant academic titles.²⁹

The establishment of a university was, of course, a rare event, in contrast to annual occurrences such as fairs. This explains why governmental announcements of such occasions, in combination with all kinds of regulations, became a regular type of advertisements. An early example about fairs can be found in the 1643 issues of *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, in this case about the fairs in the city of Zutphen in Gelderland and the Holland town of Purmerend.³⁰ In 1665, the government of the Gelderland city of Nijmegen cancelled the yearly autumn fair because of unspecified special circumstances.³¹

Another recurrent type was the announcement of churchly services for prayers and thanksgiving; an early example of such a message can be found in the *Europische Courant* of 15 September 1644. Combinations of this theme and the previous one also occurred, for example, because of conflicting dates. In 1683, the Beemster polder authorities corrected in one message the date of their prayer day and the date of the fair that had been published in an almanac. They reserved Sunday 1 August for prayers, while the horse market and market stalls were not allowed to open before Monday 2 August. Frivolous games, such as playing dice, were forbidden.³²

Furthermore, city authorities provided information about new infrastructure and public transport facilities via the newspapers. In November 1640, the Amsterdam, Muiden and Naarden authorities informed Dutch citizens about the development of a canal for barges and a corresponding road between their cities.³³ The call for tenders to build four bridges over the canal followed in June 1641.³⁴ Such announcements implicitly informed Dutch citizens about the project's progress. In May 1642, the same authorities communicated that the project had been finished during the previous year, and that the road had been extended to the city of Amersfoort. At the same time they published fixed tariffs

29 *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren* and *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.*, 1 March 1636.

30 *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, 13 June and 26 September 1643.

31 Other examples: *Ordinarisse middel-weeckse Courante*, 9 September 1653, 8 September 1665 (this issue has been digitized as 8 September 1640 in www.delpher.nl/kranten [retrieved at 13 December 2014], thus cannot be searched by date).

32 *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 10 July 1683. Similar examples in *ibidem*, 18 April 1693; *Amsterdamse Courant*, 29 November 1692.

33 *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, 3 November 1640.

34 *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.*, 25 May 1641. Other calls for tenders: *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 5 May 1678, 29 March 1681, 18 and 21 April 1682.

for coaches on the route.³⁵ Such announcements could also deal with changes in departure times, as a 1664 example shows. From 16 August the Naarden to Bremen, Hamburg and Braunschweig stage coach would no longer leave every Monday and Friday 4 PM, but every Tuesday and Saturday 10 PM.³⁶

Local authorities would also address the newspapers' audience regarding search notices as a result of criminal activities. The first announcement of this type can be found in the 7 July 1635 issue of *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*. Five days before the cobbler Adriaen Jacobsz Ruycht had murdered Gerrit Jansz Moriaenshooft, who had been mayor of Weesp, a small town near Amsterdam. The Weesp government would reward the person capturing the murderer—dead or alive—with 500 guilders, promising confidentiality in case of provided intelligence. The announcement included an accurate description of the criminal's features and of the clothes he was wearing at the time of his horrible deed. The man was tall and slim, having a white face, blond hair and beard; he was a stammerer with cuts in his forehead and fingers, and he was wearing grubby bombazine clothing.³⁷ In this case it is not quite clear whether or not the authorities had asked the editor to publish this announcement, or that it was the editor's own initiative. The second possibility seems to be the most convincing option as the message starts with the phrase that the search notice had been publicized in Amsterdam during the same week, indicating that the editor had got hold of this information. On the other hand, the smaller font size used for this notice suggests another text type than all the previous news reports. In any case, a considerable number of search notices ordered by the authorities were published during the seventeenth century.³⁸

35 *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren* and *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.*, 10 May 1642.

36 *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, 9 August 1664. Other examples: *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.*, 5 March 1644 and 5 January 1664; *Ordinarisse middel-weeckse Courante*, 17 May 1650; *Haerlemse Courante*, 14 January 1659; *Ordinaris dingsdaeghse Courante*, 20 March 1661; *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 27 May 1664, 10 March 1676 and 2 September 1670 (concerns the Dutch East India Company); *Amsterdamse Courant*, 1 and 8 April 1677. Other governmental advertisements concerned, e.g., auctions of taxes (see *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 23 September 1670), or vacancies. In 1671, for instance, the city of Maastricht needed a new hangman. *Haegse post-tydinge*, 27 October 1671.

37 In Dutch: '(...) lanch van statuere, blanck van aengesicht, geel van Hayr ende Baert, ydel van Hayr, haperende van spraeck, ranck van Lichaem, hebbende een snede over sijn voorhoofd end vingheren, alsdoen gehekleet met een vael Bombasijne Cleet (...).'

38 A few other seventeenth-century examples of governmental search notices in *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.* and *Haerlemse Courant*, 7 February 1660; *Haeghsche post-tydingen*, 14 December 1673; *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 12 May 1678.

The 18 February 1662 issue of *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.* provides another characteristic example of using the newspaper to solve a crime. While a lady in the Overijssel city of Kampen was attending the Sunday morning worship service in church, money and several goods were stolen from her house, such as silver spoons and knives, golden valuables, silk stockings and linen cloths. Finders would be rewarded when they brought the goods to the Kampen secretary. Although the announcement does not mention the lady's name, newspaper readers living in or nearby Kampen must have recognized the situation.

Governmental search notices could also proceed from non-criminal situations, such as the city of Schiedam's call for relatives of a mentally ill lady whose identity was not certain. Although she had given her own and her father's name, and also the name of her native village in the province of Groningen according to the 27 October 1671 issue of the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* (Sincere Haarlem Newspaper), the authorities were not sure about the correctness of this information and asked for help to bring the lady to the right address, while giving a full description of her appearance and her clothes.

Not only the authorities but also private persons would use the newspapers to ask for help in case of missing persons, and stolen or lost valuables, goods and animals. This category started in the 1640s, as can be seen in the 25 October 1642 issue of *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, which includes a message about a twelve-year-old runaway girl, and in the 15 August 1643 issue of the same newspaper, which deals with the kidnapping of a young girl by a man and a woman living in the Frisian city of IJlst.³⁹ Touching is an Amsterdam widow's search notice in the 26 April 1695 issue of the *Amsterdamse Courant* concerning a small black Danish dog with four small white claws and a white bushy tail.

In 2002, a website was created for transcriptions of advertisements that have been published in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* between 1658 and 1675. One of its makers, the Dutch book historian and librarian J.A. Gruys, concluded that about 50 percent of the almost 2,800 advertisements concerned the announce-

39 Other seventeenth-century examples of search notices from private persons as advertisers, e.g., *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.*, 28 September 1647; *Ordinaris dingsdaeghse Courante*, 31 March 1648; *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, 24 April 1649; *Ordinaris middel-weeckse Courante*, 30 July 1652, 17 October 1656, 5 January 1664; *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 17 August 1669, 2 September 1670, 13 October 1671, 10 November 1672, 29 March 1681, 1 April 1681, 4 May 1683, 3 June 1684, 6 July 1697, 2 August 1698; *Amsterdamse Courant*, 2 September 1670, 14 December 1673, 2 January 1674, 6 August 1686, 25 September 1687, 9 January 1691.

ment and sale of books, and, furthermore, all kinds of book industry related topics, including 22 art auctions.⁴⁰ This percentage implies that these topics were the most dominant category during that period.⁴¹ It also raises the question which other types of advertisements became prominent categories, apart from the governmental messages and search notices. Classification is difficult because of the great variety of themes that can be noticed. Nevertheless, a few of them are conspicuous.

First of all, the art auctions which Gruys mentions can be considered as being a part of a larger category: the sale of private property. Announcements about art sales had started in the 1630s. The first example concerns the auction of physician Bernardus Paludanus' cabinet of curiosities on 1 August 1634, announced by his heirs.⁴² This doctor, who was born as Berent ten Broecke, had passed away in the city of Enkhuizen during the previous year. His famous collection had attracted many visitors from abroad. The public auction was not immediately successful. After eighteen years, in 1651, Frederick III, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, would buy the collection.⁴³ Another early advertisement about an art sale can be found among the 1636 advertisements. In the 12 April 1636 issues of both Amsterdam newspapers the widow of the artist Cornelis Boyssens announced the sale of many prints, drawings and paintings of several renowned artists in Leiden on 21 April. It is questionable whether the sale was successful as widow and heirs made a second attempt to sell Boyssens' collection during the subsequent year.⁴⁴

Furthermore, the sale of private property concerned shops, houses, furniture, all kinds of goods and animals. The purchase of shops was often announced by heirs who did not wish to continue the enterprises of the deceased relatives. In 1657, a complete pharmacy was offered in the Brabant city of 's-Hertogenbosch.⁴⁵ While this advertisement only mentioned the name of the person to whom people could apply, an example in 1662 presents detailed personal information. The three daughters of the deceased Tymon Cornelisz Pont intended to sell their share of their father's shop, consisting of chinaware,

40 Currently this website is only retrievable via <http://web.archive.org/web/20070929094541/http://www.apud.net/ohc/> (accessed 8 December 2014).

41 More research is needed to assess to what extent the Haarlem newspaper represents all the Dutch newspapers during those years.

42 *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.*, 24 June 1634.

43 Klaas van Berkel, *Citaten uit het boek der natuur* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 1998), pp. 87–92. Halfway the eighteenth century the collection moved from Gottorf to Copenhagen.

44 *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.*, 11 April 1637. See also *Ordinaris dingsdaegse Courante*, 18 July 1644.

45 *Ordinaris dingsdaeghe Courante*, 20 November 1657.

chests, suitcases and boxes, several kinds of fabrics and East Indian curiosities. The message also explains that Pont's widow would continue the shop at the Amsterdam Keizersgracht, where she had lived for a long time.⁴⁶ As regards plants and animals, several curious examples can be found among the advertisements. The 21 April 1663 Haarlem newspaper issue, for instance, announced the sale of rare tulips of the late grower Jan Quaeckel,⁴⁷ and the 6 September 1670 Amsterdam *Courant* divulged the sale of canaries from the Azores by the bird catcher Jan Goossensz.⁴⁸ The sale of fabrics, such as lace cloth, was a more common topic in the advertisements than the sale of flowers and birds.⁴⁹

Other more or less frequent seventeenth century categories of advertisements concerned lotteries,⁵⁰ medical treatments and the sale of medicines,⁵¹ musical performances,⁵² and private persons who looked for a job or offered their capacities and services.⁵³ In April 1647, for example, School teacher Henrick Kaldekerck moved from Amsterdam to the old monastery in the small town of Muiden, where he could house several pupils and teach them French and other subjects. His Amsterdam successor was also mentioned in the newspaper issue.⁵⁴ Jacob Cardosa Davilar's offer to assist in redeeming slaves at Algiers in

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- 46 *Ordinaris middel-weeckse Courante*, 14 February 1662. See also, e.g., *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 14 March 1665, 11 and 13 August 1669, 8 April 1677, 11 January 1681, 16 February 1692; *Ordinaris middel-weeckse Courante*, 24 March 1665.
- 47 *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 21 April 1663. See also Mike Dash, *Tulipomania: The Story of the World's Most Coveted Flower and the Extraordinary Passions it Aroused* (London: Golancz, 1999), pp. 154, 273.
- 48 See also, e.g., *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.*, 2 July 1667; *Amsterdamse Courant*, 6 January 1674 and January 1692.
- 49 See, e.g., Bix Schipper-van Lottum, 'Kant, passement, galon en franje: Advertenties en berichten in de *Amsterdamse Courant* 1672–1764', *Textielhistorische Bijdragen*, 40 (2000), pp. 45–58, at pp. 48–58.
- 50 See, e.g., *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, 23 April 1639; *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 6 May 1683.
- 51 See, e.g., *Ordinaris middel-weeckse Courante*, 26 July 1667; *Amsterdamse Courant*, 3 November 1699. Dick Kranen retrieved advertisements of healers and quacks from the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* in the period 1656–1732. See his *Advertenties*, pp. 82–175.
- 52 *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 1 August 1686 (a Dutch opera).
- 53 See, e.g., *Ordinaris middel-weeckse Courante*, 17 October 1656; *Haerlemse Courante*, 26 March 1661; *Amsterdamse Courant*, 27 October 1671.
- 54 *Courante uyt Italien, Duytschlandt, &c.*, 6 April 1647. About Henrick Jansz Kaldekerck(en) (c. 1601–1663): *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* II (Leiden, 1912) 647; Jan Zacharias Kannegieter, 'Een zeventiende-eeuwse Amsterdamse schoolmeester: Hendrick Jansz Kaldekerck', *Jaarboek Genootschap Amstelodamum*, 58 (1966), pp. 48–81. The mentioned successor is 'Mr. Samuel de Poybelleau'. Kannegieter (p. 64) mentions Samuel Pappeljou as Kaldekerck's underteacher. See also *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, 7 March 1648.

1670 is an interesting example that can be connected to the dangers of the time, in this case to the kidnapping of Dutch crews in the Mediterranean World.⁵⁵ Furthermore, newspaper readers became aware of new innovative products. In 1660, for instance, an Amsterdam watchmaker announced his sale of new lights to be used in churches, monasteries and large rooms, and for study activities.⁵⁶ Interesting is also Baron Balthazar Gerbier's attempt to attract capital for the establishment of a colony in Surinam in 1659.⁵⁷

More research in all available newspapers, including the issues not yet digitized, is needed to get a good overview of all early modern categories and their share in the total amount of advertisements. Such scrutiny can also elucidate which early modern branches of commerce and organizations did not yet use advertising in the newspapers during the first two centuries of printed newspapers.

2 The News Value of Early Advertisements

The examples of Dutch seventeenth century advertisements presented above are a rather arbitrary collection, since almost all of them can easily be substituted by similar examples. However, all other possible examples will most probably belong to the same kind of categories that have been distinguished. To answer the question what the newsworthiness of early modern advertisements may have been, it therefore seems wise to reflect on those categories, rather than analyzing the given examples any further. Before having a closer look at the exemplified material, it has to be emphasized that the events related in many early modern advertisements would have led to news reports in modern media, since those media contain far more extensive accounts than the seventeenth century newspapers, including comments and the results of journalistic research. In other words, in our days journalism helps the audience to catch the news value of commercial and governmental information, while early modern newspaper readers had to draw conclusions from such material themselves. We may expect that competent readers were capable of doing this and

55 *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 27 September 1670.

56 The Republic did not have monasteries at the time, thus this seems to be an indication that the advertiser also addressed a foreign audience, unless he alluded to buildings that had been monasteries in earlier days. *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, 3 January 1660. The mentioned name is "Stephanus Kens". See also *Ordinaris dingsdaeghse Courante*, 6 December 1658, in which his name is spelled as "Stevanus Keus".

57 *Haerlemse Courante*, 14 January 1659.

really did. Several considerations about the categories treated above and a few new examples will further test these assumptions.

The first category mentioned above regarding commercial messages about printed material indicated implicitly which contemporary Dutch scholars and authors were writing about specific topics at the time, by mentioning the titles of their new books or reprints. This was also the case with announcements about new publications containing texts of classical and other deceased authors. In 1635, for instance, issues of both Amsterdam newspapers announced the publication of Dutch translations of Latin books about law, written by the then living jurist Hugo Grotius. During the subsequent year the Dutch audience was offered a new edition of *In Praise of Folly*, written by the Renaissance humanist Desiderius Erasmus.⁵⁸ Furthermore, announcements about translations of foreign publications increased the readers' general knowledge of writers in other countries. Although such information does not always immediately lead to topical news reports in today's news media, it is certainly part of them, mostly in features such as reviews of books, sometimes also with columns including lists of new publications or remaindered books. It is cultural news, a kind of information that was rarely part of the early modern news items, yet reached the audience via advertisements.

Moreover, the themes and contents of new printed books frequently referred to topical circumstances, such as the course of wars. The above introduced group of advertisements about printed maps indicating sieges of cities also added information to earlier news items about those sieges that had been published in previous newspaper issues. They recalled what was happening at the time, particularly when a siege or a war was already going on for several weeks or months. In December 1672, for example, the Amsterdam bookseller Steven Swart offered a historical account of all military events that had taken place during the previous months.⁵⁹ Such commercial messages made readers aware that they could buy printed material that would explain current topics, and the announcement of this material may be considered as news.

The second category treated above, that of governmental announcements and messages, could also reflect upon wars and its consequences, as the following examples will show. In 1665, an advertisement reminded the readers of the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–1667), when the Amsterdam Admiralty, one of the Dutch boards that organized sea defense, announced the sale of

58 *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren and Courante uyt Italien, Duytschland, &c.*, 13 October 1635; *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, 14 June 1636.

59 *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 17 December 1672.

tobacco leaves that had been unloaded from four captured English ships.⁶⁰ Likewise the Franco-Dutch War of 1672–1678 came into the picture when the same Admiralty offered for sale a captured French ship, including her cargo and six pieces of artillery, in an Amsterdam newspaper issue of 1674.⁶¹ A third striking example is a captain's request to provide information about three deserted soldiers from his garrison in the Walloon city of Liège, published in a Haarlem newspaper issue of 1693, during the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697) that was fought at that time in the Spanish Netherlands.⁶² These three examples demonstrate that the readers' knowledge about daily war life could be increased by reading advertisements. This also applies to all kinds of governmental publications—during peace time and wars as well—such as the announcements about prayer days and city fairs, new infrastructure and changes of public transport departure times mentioned above.

Search notices from authorities and private persons concerning criminal fugitives and missing relatives, are preeminent news topics of today's news media, occasionally leading to so-called AMBER alerts in cases when children get lost. It seems to be self-evident that such announcements among the early modern commercial information were also picked up as news, because of their dramatic, dangerous and sensational content. A difference with modern news media, however, is the fact that early modern newspaper readers mostly did not read about the results of such appeals. We may assume that oral networks were still used for this goal, because people must have been curious about the outcomes. This is a rather frustrating aspect of press research as even a digital collection of early modern newspapers does not reveal, for instance, whether or not the identity of a drowned person near the city of Muiden has ever been established as a result of a call in a 1669 newspaper issue.⁶³

From almost all categories of advertisements distinguished above people could glean personal information, such as the transfer of companies and services from fathers to sons or other relatives and business relations, removals to new addresses and the names of deceased persons. Although obituary adver-

60 *Ordinarisse middel-weeckse Courante*, 8 September 1665 (this issue has been digitized as 8 September 1640 in www.delpher.nl/kranten [retrieved at 13 December 2014], thus cannot be searched by date).

61 *Amsterdamse Courant*, 9 January 1674. About newspapers as news sources during this war: Judith Brouwer, *Levenstekens: Gekaapte brieven uit het Rampjaar 1672* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2014), pp. 203–207.

62 *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 19 March 1693. See also *Amsterdamse Courant*, 6 May 1694 (about the sale of guns).

63 *Ordinaris dingsdaeghse Courante*, 11 August 1669.

tisements did not exist in the Dutch newspapers before 1793,⁶⁴ the passing away of people was often mentioned in other advertisements, as we have seen in the examples of the auction of the late Bernardus Paludanus' cabinet of curiosities and the sale of the three daughters' share in the shop of deceased Tymon Cornelisz Pont. It may be clear that not all information of this kind will lead to news reports nowadays, yet well-known and extraordinary people will always immediately receive journalistic attention when they die. This again rather differs from the representation of news in early modern days. In that period it took more time before certain facts such as the passing away of famous persons were distributed. Many facts were not included in the news reports and reached only a selected group of people—after a time that corresponded with the speed of available means of transport. This made advertisements about the sale of property particularly newsworthy, as they frequently presented occasional information about the personal circumstances highlighted above that would have remained unknown to a wide audience when those messages would not have been published. This also shows that early modern commercial messages can be credited with much news value.

3 Final Remarks

By focusing on only the news reports in the early modern Dutch newspapers, press historians have unjustly ignored advertisements as a category of news too long. This has led to the idea that these newspapers were not much orientated on domestic news events, as most news accounts dealt with foreign topics. This article has demonstrated that Dutch seventeenth-century printed newspapers increasingly included much more local, regional and national news than has been acknowledged, when we also consider advertisements as pieces of news. After a few decades with predominantly commercial messages coming from Dutch publishers and printers, worldly authorities, other entrepreneurs and private persons discovered the newspapers as channels to reach a large audience. All their messages included information that must have been experienced as news and this part of the newspapers has undoubtedly been a serious reason to buy or read them.

During the seventeenth century the Dutch newspaper market was concentrated in the province of Holland. However, the examples of advertisements

64 Pieter D. 't Hart, 'De eerste overlijdensadvertenties in de Nederlandse kranten', *Jaarboek Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie*, 37 (1983), pp. 243–269, at pp. 251–254.

presented above show that suppliers of commercial messages resided all over the country. This is another proof that the Holland newspapers were in fact read in other parts of the Dutch Republic, otherwise it would have been useless to publish announcements from those parts in the newspapers. Nevertheless, more research is needed to get a good idea about the origins of all the advertisements and how far the readership reached geographically. In addition, it is important to extend this research to eighteenth century issues. During that century new newspapers began to appear in other parts of the Republic. By including these sources, the hypothesis can be tested that the orientation in Dutch advertisements changed from a more or less national scale to a regional and local scale as a result of an increasing supply of newspaper titles.

It may be clear that research of this kind will benefit tremendously from digital collections such as the Dutch Royal Library website with digitized newspapers. The more digitized issues will be added to this collection the better. Research of this kind will also be much helped if the quality of OCR texts improves. At the moment, research by keywords does not lead to reliable results because of bad or lacking conversion. A search action in the digitized seventeenth century issues with, for instance, the Dutch word ‘vermist’—meaning ‘lost’ or ‘missing’—leads to only three hits,⁶⁵ while it is certain that this word has been much more used in the newspapers considering all the search notices with this word that have been published. Particularly the conversion of texts that are typeset in Gothic lettering leads to disappointing outcomes, as the following example of the first Dutch advertisement, illustrates. The printed text reads:

’t Amsterdam by Broer Iansz ende Iacob Pietersz. Wachter, is Ghedruckt seker Boeck gehenaemt West-Indische Spieghel, waer in men sien can Alle de Eylanden, Provintien, Lantschappen, het Machtige Rijck van Mexico, en ’t Goud en Silver-Rijkcke Landt van Peru. ‘Tsampt De Coursen, Havenen, Klippen, Coopmanschappen &c so wel in de Noort als in de Zuyder-Zee. Als mede hoe die van de Spagnaerden eerst geinvadeert zijn, door Athanasium Inga, Peruaen van Cusco.⁶⁶

65 www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten (retrieved at 24 December 2014).

66 In English (translation JWK): In Amsterdam, by Broer Iansz and Iacob Pietersz Wachter, has been printed a book titled West-Indian Mirror, in which one can see all the Isles, Provinces, Landscapes, the Powerful Empire of Mexico, and the Country of Peru rich of Gold and Silver. Together with the Courses, Harbours, Cliffs, Merchandises etc. in the North [Sea] as well as the Southern Sea. And also how the Spanished invaded before, by Athanasium Inga, Peruvian of Cusco.

Although the Gothic lettering was only partially used for this advertisement, the OCR text of it reads:

't Amfterdam bp Broer lanfz. enbe Iacob Pieteriz. Wachter, tjs ©geto-
jucftt feller 350ec6/ Gfenaetnl Weft-Indiiche Spi-ghd, toaer in men ftett
can/ tMJe be «©planben / ©joDtntten / aantfcharpnt/ tet JB.atötigfie
Rtjrft Dan Mexico, en 't©ottt en SHDcr-fitjcfe ianöt ban Pem. «fampt
/©* «Coucfen / «taenen / flippen/ Coopmanfcjjag' Setl/ccc. fo toel tn
be Noor t aIS tn be Z_yd_r_* .is mebe hoe bic bantoe Spagnaerberen eetfl
ge tnbaoeert3Ön.©Ool Athanafium ln&\$tWRM, ban Cufco,⁶⁷

New techniques and a new project will be necessary to overcome this bad quality. In the meantime we will still have to use and trust our own eyes for correct reading and interpreting the valuable sources of early modern advertisements, digitized or not digitized.

67 *Tijdinghe uyt verscheide quartieren*, 27 July 1624 (retrieved via www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten at 24 December 2014).

Anything but Marginal: the Politics of Paper Use and Layout in Early Modern Dutch Newspapers*

In 1766, Dutch artist Cornelis Ploos van Amstel published the engraving *Krant-lezer in interieur* [Newspaper Reader in a Room]. It shows a balding man reading a news sheet, with another man opposite him, and next to him a woman feeding a child (see Figure 11).¹ The others were probably listening to the bald man read the news. Texts were often read aloud in the early modern era, as many people were illiterate and newspapers, although cheap, were not affordable for everybody.² In any case, newspaper readers needed good eyes and a loupe or glasses for reading aloud as well as in silence, since most news sheets had small letter sizes and a fully-filled page. Publishers of newspapers used the available space very efficiently by including as many news items and advertisements as possible. In this way they kept their paper costs low and their products profitable and affordable. At least, this is the impression one gets while examining the thousands of copies of Dutch newspapers published in the centuries after 1618, the first year of printed newspapers in the Dutch Republic.³

Since thousands of Dutch early modern newspaper issues have become digitally available via the website www.delpher.nl over the last years, it has become possible to get swift impressions on all kinds of topics and questions.⁴ However, many historical aspects concerning their formats, layout and content—and even more important: the correlation between these three dimensions—have still not been thoroughly researched. How much space, for instance, was used

* This chapter will also be published in Megan K. Williams (ed.), *The Politics of Paper in the Early Modern World* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), in press.

- 1 For this engraving Cornelis Ploos van Amstel (1726–1798) was inspired by the work of Dutch Golden Age artist Adriaen van Ostade (1610–1685). See <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.165389> (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, coll.nr. RP-P-OB-24.554; consulted 28 December 2016).
- 2 See, e.g., Carel Lodewijk Hansen's painting *Man leest de krant in een interieur* [Man Reading the Newspaper in a Room; c. 1780–1840], Museum am Herrenberg, Bad Bentheim, Germany (RKD: <https://rkd.nl/explore/images/113623>).
- 3 See also Arthur der Weduwen's bibliography *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers of the Seventeenth Century, 1618–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).
- 4 Although Delpher contains a huge collection, it is far from complete. Therefore, this research is also based on several newspaper series kept in city archives.



FIGURE 11 Cornelis Ploos van Amstel, *Krantlezer in interieur* (Amsterdam, 1766)
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for news reports and advertisements respectively, and how and where were they placed in the newspapers? As we do not have many sources to gain insight into the competition between Dutch early modern newspapers and their ways in which their publishers tried to innovate, the study of page layout might be one of the ways to offer a better perspective. Through studying these under-researched aspects of Dutch newspaper publishers' paper management, this article contributes to our understanding of how the newspaper industry devel-

oped. By looking at how newspaper editors and printers filled in the available space within their chosen formats in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we address the question of which Dutch newspapers can be considered trend-setters or followers in matters of layout. The Dutch publishers did not invent landscape printed margins, but were among the earliest and most systematic users of them.⁵ The first section provides introductory information about formats and layouts of Dutch seventeenth- and eighteenth-century newspapers. The two following sections deal with changes to traditional layouts around the 1740s, as publishers began to use newspapers' margins for printing information. This part concentrates on publisher Anthoni de Groot, who experimented with the layout of his *'s Gravenhaegse Courant* [The Hague Newspaper] in those years. An overview of Dutch imitators of De Groot's marginal printing follows, concluding with final observations.⁶

A few remarks about the connotations of the word 'paper' in this article have to be made before setting out. It is intriguing to notice that the English word 'newspaper' includes the word 'paper', and as in consequence refers to both its content and materiality. This also applies to the similar Dutch word *nieuwspapier*, which was a frequently-used synonym for *courant* (or *krant*) in the first centuries of its existence.⁷ Although this etymological observation might suggest that this article will deal with both the printed content and materiality of the newspaper, it must be clear that both aspects will be treated only as they contribute to the central issue: how publishers managed their paper stocks in laying out printed information about topical affairs and advertisements.

5 I am grateful to Davide Boerio who showed me several examples of the 1708 newspaper *The Dublin Gazette* with landscape printed margins on the back-sides. See, e.g., *The Dublin Gazette*, 15 to 18 January, 7 to 11 and 11 to 14 September, 2 to 5 October, and 5 to 9 October 1708.

6 I wish to thank Sebastiaan van Leunen for assisting me during the research, as part of his Honours College research internship at the University of Groningen, the Netherlands.

7 Also spelled as '*nieuwspapier*'. See, e.g., *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* [Sincere Haarlem Newspaper], 28 June 1727; *Leeuwarder Courant* [Leeuwarden Newspaper], 29 July 1752; *Middelburgsche Courant* [Middelburg Newspaper], 4 March 1760; *Oprechte Groninger Courant* [Sincere Groningen Newspaper], 2 September 1760. The word '*courant*' is a contraction of '*courante nouvelles*', similar to '*nouvelles courantes*' in French, both referring to current news articles. The reference to characteristics of the news medium other than paper, such as time and periodicity, was also present in many European languages: e.g., in '*Zeitung*' (German), '*giornale*' (Italian), '*periódico*' (Spanish) and '*journal*' (French).

1 The Dutch Standard: Two Pages in Folio with Two News Columns Each

The first Dutch newspapers, which were printed in folio in Amsterdam from 1618, only included news items on one side of its sheets. The oldest known copy, *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.* [Newspaper from Italy, Germany etc.], dating most likely from 14 June 1618, had its title centered at the head. Its news items were spread over two columns of 71 lines each (including the date lines), separated from each other with a black line. Centered date lines in both columns, such as “VVt Venetien den 1. Iunii, Anno 1618” (From Venice, the 1st June, 1618AD) and “VVt s’Graven-haghe den 13 dito” (From The Hague, the 13th ditto), revealed the origins of the news items, which were printed in paragraphs with indents in their first lines.⁸

The date lines were also eye-catching because they were printed in Roman type, while the news reports were printed with Gothic fonts. In later Gothic-printed seventeenth-century newspaper issues, Roman letter types would also be used for indicating various other types of information, such as headings with country names, quotes, and (parts of) announcements.⁹ From circa 1673, Gothic fonts would become unusual in Dutch newspapers, after several years in which both type fonts had frequently alternated in the same columns. Replacement by Roman fonts meant a little more efficiency in the use of paper, because it resulted in a higher numbers of characters per printed line than was reached with Gothic fonts of roughly the same size.¹⁰

The second Dutch newspaper, *Tijdinghe(n) uyt verscheyde quartieren* [Tid- ing[s] from Several Areas], probably started in 1619. It had almost the same layout as its competitor, although it lacked a title until 1629.¹¹ By then, the news-

8 Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers*, pp. 18–19.

9 See, e.g., *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.*, 15 January 1628 (heading of a cargo list); 6 January 1635 (names in the advertisements); 3 March 1640 (complete advertisements); *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, 3 January 1660 (translated resolutions); *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 27 January 1665 (quote from a letter).

10 This assumption was tested with samples in the 23 February 1666 *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, an issue that was still a mishmash of fonts and sizes. Under the heading of Italy, for example, seven news items were included, of which four were in Gothic type (with two different sizes) and three in Roman type (also with two different sizes). Cf. Steven van Impe and Jan Bos, ‘Romein en gotisch in zeventiende-eeuws drukwerk: Een voorbeeldonderzoek voor het gebruik van de stcn en stcv’, *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 22 (2006), pp. 283–297.

11 The *Tijdinghe* was not unique in lacking a title. This also happened with its competitor, e.g., in its issue of 4 April 1626, which opened with “De jonghste Brieven uyt Italien en Duytslant zijn noch niet aengekomen” (The most recent letters from Italy and Germany have not yet arrived).

paper had also been given issue numbers, which would become common in many newspapers.¹² Nevertheless, from the beginning, the *Tijdinghe's* first news item had a beautifully decorated initial—like many books at the time—and the newspaper colophon mentioned its publication city and publisher below.¹³ The oldest available copy in the Delpher collection, from 10 February 1619, has a left column with 81 lines, and a right column with 85 lines as a result of 23 lines printed below in a smaller font. This can be considered an inventive way of including all the news the editor had selected for this copy.

Using smaller type to print extra news items would not become common.¹⁴ Within a few years after the start of printed newspapers, the increasing news supply led to a more fundamental and obvious solution: the printing of news items on both sides of the single sheet. This meant a doubling of the content, while using the same amount of paper. The first two-sided *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.* in the Delpher collection, with both sides about 900 words, dates from 21 August 1620, and the first doubled *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, with about 1,200 words on the front page and about 1,240 word on the back, appeared a month later, on 20 September 1620.¹⁵

Not all subsequent issues would have fully-printed back pages, as can be demonstrated with several 1621 issues.¹⁶ Thus, the use of paper—as material—

12 In 1629 the *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.* also started with issue numbering. The issue numbers—and particularly the catchwords—made it easier for readers to bring their copies to a binder.

13 Soon *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.* would also include a colophon below, with the name of the publisher, his city and street name, and the issue's date. It also copied the beautiful opening letter. Later on, many newspapers would open their first news report with a simple large letter.

14 It was, however, practiced. See, e.g., *Ordinaris dingsdaeghse Courante* [Ordinary Tuesday Newspaper], 14 September 1655.

15 The previous *Courante* in Delpher, with news on only one page, dates from 19 June 1619, which suggests that the practice of printing on the back-side started after this date. The previous *Tijdinghe* with news on one page dates from 2 May 1620 (research action on 3 January 2017). More research is needed to conclude whether or not the *Courante's* issues included less information than the *Tijdinghe's* issues. However, such research will become possible only when more texts in Delpher produced by Optical Character Recognition—which is particularly unreliable for Gothic fonts—have been manually corrected, a volunteer project that has recently been started.

16 See, e.g., *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.*, 29 January and 26 February 1621; *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, 25 January, 23 February, and 8 March 1621. The presence of empty back pages did not completely end. See, e.g., *Utrechtse Courant* [Utrecht Newspaper], 4 May 1685 and *Leydse Courant* [Leiden Newspaper], 14 June 1720, which both have three printed pages and an empty back page. The eighteenth-century *Leeuwarder Courant* also had many empty back pages.

was not immediately as efficient as possible; however, this would soon be the case. Furthermore, printing information on both pages did not exactly lead to a doubling of the amount of news, since from 1621 Dutch newspapers began publishing advertisements.¹⁷ The first commercial advertisements and announcements were published in the same columns as the news items, but from the end of the 1640s they were also collected on the back-side below, in one wide column. This layout soon became widespread.¹⁸ In this way everybody could immediately distinguish advertisements from the news. The number of advertisements, many of which were printed in smaller fonts than the news reports, substantially increased in the established newspapers in particular. From around 1730, advertisements occasionally filled almost the whole back page.¹⁹

Another significant solution to respond to the increasing supply of news and advertisements was the printing of more than one edition per week. This began on 18 June 1658. The first newspaper to do this was the *Haerlemse Courant* [Haarlem Newspaper]. From that date this newspaper included Tuesday and—from 1659—Saturday in its title before the word ‘Courant’—a system that several other Dutch newspapers copied. The first Haarlem newspaper published on a Thursday dates from 9 June 1667. By calling this edition the *Extraordinaire Haerlemse Donderdaegse* [Thursday] *Courant*, its publisher gave the impression of presenting an extra edition on Thursday; this title-form persisted until the beginning of 1707.²⁰ Offering more editions implied, of course, the use of more paper—here ignoring the question of how many copies were printed and how fast the numbers of editions per week increased during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

17 Joop W. Koopmans, ‘Research in Digitized Early Modern Dutch Newspapers and the News Value of Advertisements’, in Bernd Klesmann, Patrick Schmidt and Christine Vogel (eds.), *Jenseits der Haupt- und Staatsaktionen: Neue Perspektiven auf historische Periodika* (Bremen: edition lumière, 2017), pp. 95–111.

18 See, e.g., *Tijdinghe uyt verscheide quartieren*, 14 November 1648 and 27 February 1649.

19 See, e.g., *Amsterdamse Courant* [Amsterdam Newspaper], 20 December 1727, 19 January 1730; *Leydse Courant*, 16 December 1729, 5 November 1731. More research is needed to give precise figures concerning the numbers of advertisements in Dutch early modern newspapers.

20 In October 1662, the Haarlem newspaper’s title was further extended with the word *Oprechte* (Sincere) before *Haerlemse*. The 13 January 1707 Haarlem newspaper is the last Thursday issue in the Delpher collection with ‘extraordinaire’ in the title. Delpher, however, is not complete for the following months. The Thursday issue was considered less important than the other editions: Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers*, pp. 671–676. The *Opregte Leydse Courant* (from 1720 without ‘Opregte’ in the title) did the same by calling its Wednesday edition *Extraordinaire Leydse Woensdagse Courant*.

Until the 1790s, the standard layout of almost all Dutch newspapers was two pages in folio, with most papers appearing two or three times a week. Issues of more than two pages were sometimes published for special reasons. The *Utrechtse Courant*, for instance, had a Monday issue with four pages on 8 June 1744, including one and a half pages concerning a lottery organized by the States General.²¹ In the previous years the *'s Gravenhaegse Courant* had also had several four-page issues.²²

An incidental doubling from two to four pages was difficult to manage, because sufficient extra news items and advertisements, and also printing capacity, had to be available. Furthermore, this meant that more than the usual editorial work had to be realized in a short time span, while paper costs and possibly local publishing taxes increased; asking customers to pay extra for double-sided regular issues was also a delicate matter. Therefore, printing special editions—in Dutch called 'Na-Courant' (After Newspaper, or Extra Edition) or 'Voorloper' (Forerunner, or Early Edition)—between the regular editions because of special events was more common, and from a commercial perspective more attractive for publishers than doubling pages.

Particular occasions included war declarations, victories or defeats, disasters, and important news concerning members of the Orange-Nassau family—the dynasty of stadtholderates in the Dutch Republic. On Monday, 25 October 1751, for example, the *'s Gravenhaegse Courant* published an extra edition because Stadtholder William IV had passed away three days before (see Figure 12). Other examples of extra editions are the Amsterdam *Na-Courant* of 6 December 1755 about the Lisbon earthquake and the *Hollandsche Historische* [Holland Historical] *Na-Courant* of Delft from 23 May 1782, including a news report from London about the British capture of Trincomalee on Ceylon, a defeat for the Dutch East India Company.²³ Stadtholder William V's visit to Leeuwarden in July 1773 even led to two extra editions of the *Leeuwarder Courant*, of which the second was simply called the *Tweede Na-Courant* [Sec-

21 The *Leydsche Courant* of 8 June 1744 included the information about the lottery in the regular front and back page, which meant less space for news items and advertisements.

22 See the next section.

23 Other examples: *De Groninger Na-Courant*, 10 August 1756; *Oprechte Groninger Na-Courant*, 21 July 1761; *Rotterdamse Na-Courant*, 9 January 1762, *Leeuwarder Na-Courant*, 13 June 1765 (four pages; however, this newspaper was printed in quarto), *Middelburgsche Na-Courant*, 25 July 1758, *Amsterdamsche Na-Courant*, 31 May 1768, *Diemer- of Watergraafs-meersche Na-Courant*, 10 April 1782, *Amsterdamsche Extra-Courant*, 8 September 1788 (with ornamental edges because of its topic, the visit of Stadtholder William V and his family to Amsterdam), and *Extra-ordinaire Groninger Courant*, 31 May 1800. Examples of so-called 'forerunners': *De Groninger Voorloper*, 8 February 1752, *De Voorlooper van de Groninger Dingsdaagsche Courant*, 8 December 1755 and *De Groninger Voorlooper*, 14 October 1756 and 13 May 1757.

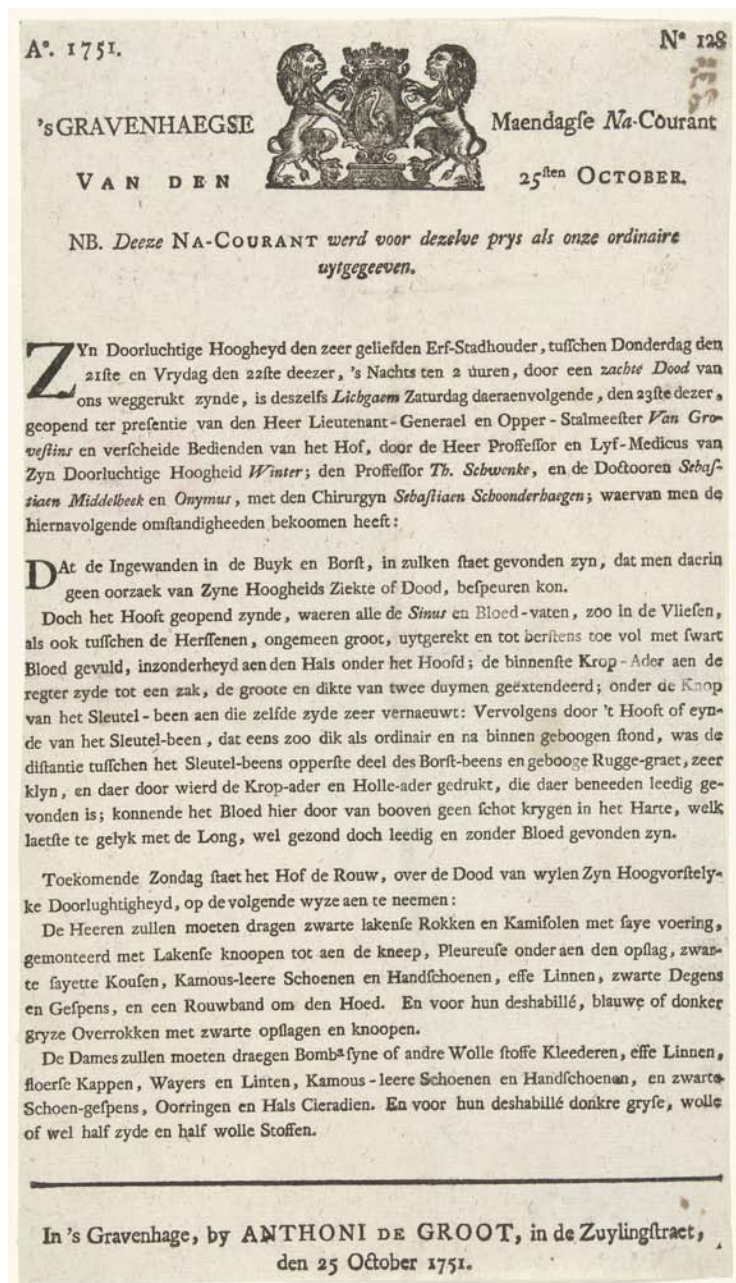


FIGURE 12 *Na-Courant* of the 's Gravenhaegse Courant, 25 October 1751, regarding the autopsy of deceased Stadtholder William IV and the court's mourning-clothes
COPY RIJKSMUSEUM AMSTERDAM, THE NETHERLANDS

ond Extra Edition].²⁴ A self-evident conclusion from all these examples is the fact that special events—in particular wars—resulted in greater demand for paper in the newspaper world.²⁵ So far, only the 12 December 1778 *Leeuwarder Na-Courant* does not fit this conclusion, because it did not deal with a special topic, but only included a huge number of advertisements.²⁶

The publication of extra editions was often announced in the usual issues, usually with the precise time at which they would become available. For instance, on 10 August 1756 the *Oprechte Groninger Courant* announced on its back page above the advertisements that “This afternoon at 4 o’clock an Extra Edition will be published about the late Count Brahe’s instruction to his Son.”²⁷ The Swedish Count Erik Brahe had been executed because of his part in a coup. His personal advice to his young son was apparently considered sensational news, even for Dutch readers.²⁸ In their 10 December 1757 issue, Haarlem publishers Izaak and Johannes Enschedé announced—between brackets above the advertisements—that they would prepare a ‘Na-Courant’ devoted to a British royal manifesto concerning restarting war, as soon as they had finished their regular edition.²⁹ In this case it is clear that the workforce and machinery were the decisive factors in the production process, and thus not the availability of paper as material. Finally, it can be stated that readers usually had to pay the same price for extra editions as for regular ones, even when only the extra edition’s front pages included printed text.³⁰ This sounds like a commercially

24 *Leeuwarder Na-Courant*, 24 July 1773 and *Tweede Na-Courant*, 16 July 1773.

25 Regular editions also sold better during wars than in quiet times.

26 More research is needed concerning the increasing frequency of extra editions during the eighteenth century. The first hit with the keyword ‘na-courant’ in the Delpher collection leads to the *Leydse Courant*, 27 August 1725, including an announcement of an extra edition.

27 “Heeden nademiddag te 4 uren staat een Na Courant uytgegeeven te worden, behelzende de (...) Instructie van wylen den Graave Brahe aan zynen Zoone.”: *Oprechte Groninger Courant*, 10 August 1756.

28 Other examples of such announcements: *Oprechte Groninger Courant*, 28 September and 5 October 1756 (both dealing with the war between Prussia and Austria); *Hollandsche Historische Courant*, 6 December 1785.

29 “(Zo dra deeze Courant afgedrukt is zullen wy eene Na-Courant onderhanden neemen en uytgeeven, waarin zig het Manifest des Konings van Groot-Brittannien, behelzende de Redenen van het weder opvatten der Wapenen &c. en meer gewigtige Piécen zullen bevinden.)”: *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 10 December 1757.

30 See, e.g., *’s Gravenhaegse Courant*, 25 October 1751 and *Hollandsche Historische Na-Courant*, 20 October 1781. On the other hand, the *Extraordinaire Hollandsche Historische Courant* of 7 December 1785 had three pages, while costing the same as a regular issue of two pages. Concerning the (same) price of Leeuwarden extra editions: M. Broersma, *Beschaafde*

attractive strategy; it also confirms that paper and distribution were important parts of a newspaper's cost. However, not knowing how many extra editions were printed compared to regular editions and not knowing what they cost makes it hard to conclude which factors were decisive for making profit.

2 **Anthoni de Groot's Experiments in His 's *Gravenhaegse Courant***

Around 1790, Dutch newspapers printed in folio slowly began to expand their number of pages on a more or less structural basis. The *Amsterdams(ch)e Courant*, for instance, had many issues with three pages in 1789. Seven years afterwards, the *Goudasche Courant* [Gouda Newspaper]—although keeping issues of two pages—demonstrated its ambitions by publishing no fewer than six editions per week. This almost daily frequency—there was no Sunday edition—was only maintained until 31 December 1796, when Gouda's publisher Hanso Lemstra van Buma decided to return to three editions per week in the subsequent year. Nevertheless, more paper than ever before must have been needed for publishing both established and new Dutch newspapers in these years of domestic political turmoil, with press freedom for the adherents of the new Batavian Republic who for the first time could write extensively about politics.³¹

By 1750, however, another conspicuous phenomenon had become common practice in many Dutch newspapers: the use of their margins for publishing more news items and announcements than could be placed within the regular columns. Publisher Anthoni de Groot (c. 1697–1755) from The Hague was the pioneer in using the margins of his 's *Gravenhaegse Courant* for printing extra news items, doing so for the first time in his 5 October 1739 issue.³² Perhaps foreign examples had inspired him in this respect, as the idea of marginal printing was not new. On both sides he included a small third column with a few news reports, printed in portrait and having half the size of the regular columns. The small column on the front page—situated on the right side—already started next to the newspaper's title, which meant 10 extra lines compared to the reg-

vooruitgang: De wereld van de Leeuwarder Courant 1752–2002 (Leeuwarden: Friese Pers Boekerij, 2002), p. 39.

31 More research is needed concerning the effects on the Dutch press of the pro-French Batavian Republic, which succeeded the Dutch Republic in 1795.

32 The 's *Gravenhaegse Courant* issues from the period 1739–1742 were consulted in the Haags Gemeentearchief (The Hague Municipal Archives), as at the time of my research they had not yet been included in Delpher.

ular columns next to it; the second column had 96 lines (see Figure 13).³³ On the back page, however, the small third column's first line—situated on the left side—began at the same height as the regular columns. In this case, the small column had one more line than the regular column next to it.³⁴ This can be explained by the fact that the last line of the normal column with advertisements ended with a line presenting the colophon, including the publisher's city, name, and street address ("In 's Gravenhage by Anthoni de Groot, in de Zuylingstraet"), and the issue date.

At the end of August 1739, De Groot replaced Jacobus de Jongh, who was in financial trouble.³⁵ De Groot obviously sought to change the newspaper into a successful enterprise. Furthermore, he must have hoped to obtain from the city permission to print the newspaper soon thereafter. Both can be implicitly concluded from the marginal printing as well as several other ambitious innovations and experiments in this early period. At least five striking examples of this innovative spirit can be derived from his initial newspaper issues.

First of all, De Groot printed extra editions in addition to his regular Monday, Wednesday and Friday editions, albeit with another layout and font-size. The newspaper's title was narrowed to fit it in one column, with more white space on its right side. A front sheet's left column was used for this. By vice versa printing the same two columns on a sheet's back-side, the printer could use one sheet to make two extra editions—a very clever and economical practice as long as the extra edition had two full columns.³⁶ The only extra task was cutting the sheet. The extra white space next to the columns was necessary, in this case, to avoid losing text while cutting the sheets. De Groot published his first half-folio issue on Monday, 14 September 1739, costing half the price of the regular edition. In a short note above the colophon the publisher explained

33 The numbers of column lines varied slightly because they always had a different number of headings with country names, which took more space than regular lines. The Haarlem publisher Abraham Casteleyn introduced country names as headings in 1656 in his *Weekelycke Courante van Europa* [Weekly Newspaper of Europe], the first title of his Haarlem newspaper. Most other Dutch newspaper would copy this practice.

34 Printing small third columns in portrait sometimes led to the abbreviation of country names, such as 'Nederl.' instead of 'Nederlanden'. See, e.g., 's Gravenhaegse Courant, 28 December 1739.

35 W.P. Sautijn Kluit, 'De 's Gravenhaegse Courant', *Jaarboek van Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (1875), pp. 3–178, at p. 34. The Monday, 31 August 1739 issue was the first to include Anthoni de Groot's name as publisher.

36 This was not always the case. See, e.g., the 27 June 1740 *Na-Courant*, with empty spaces of a third on both sides; the 16 September 1740 *Na-Courant* had only one (not completely filled) column and an empty back-side. Other examples of extra editions: 1 February 1741; 22 and 25 June, and 3 December 1742.

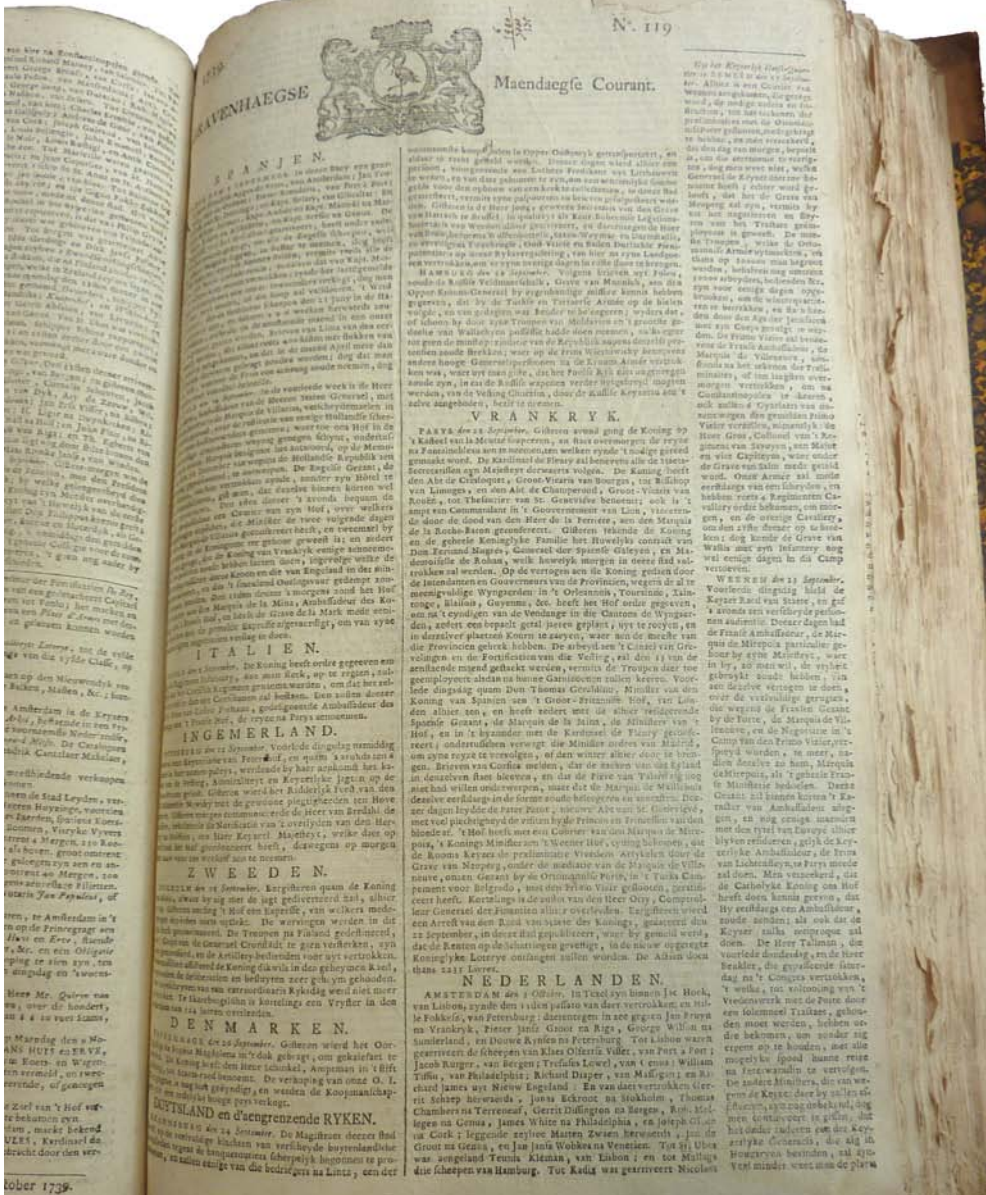


FIGURE 13 Front page of the 5 October 1739's Gravenhaegse Courant, the first Hague issue with a small portrait-printed third column
COPY HAAGS GEMEENTEARCHIEF, THE HAGUE (PHOTOGRAPH JOOP KLOPMANS)

that the extra half-folio editions were meant for late news reports and corrections. In this way the content of the regular editions could remain the same during the entire printing process. Before, content changes during the printing process of same-date issues would have led to confusion among readers, which De Groot wished to prevent.³⁷ Half-folio editions, however, would remain rare; other Dutch newspapers did not copy the idea.

Secondly, De Groot printed several regular editions consisting of four pages, which was still rather exceptional around 1740. On 12 October 1739, for example, he offered such a 'dubbelde Courant' (double Newspaper) for the same price as the ordinary issues. This paper also included a small third column on page three, two-thirds full with two news items: one from Amsterdam dated 10 October and one from The Hague dated 11 October.³⁸ De Groot's 'double newspapers' were not always completely filled with text.³⁹ Making choices between extra pages, small third columns or extra (half-folio) editions—and combinations of these possibilities—must have been a recurrent puzzle, with consequences, of course, for the quantity of paper that was needed and had to be ordered.

De Groot's next change was to replace his letter-type by a font that led to more letters in one line than in previous issues. In other words, more information could henceforth be printed in the same space as before. The publisher explained this in his issue of 1 January 1740, in a beautifully decorated message below the newspaper's title, assuring readers that the new letters were very fine and clear, and even looked bigger than the old. Furthermore, advertisements were to be separated from each other with black lines, a measure which he hoped would improve the paper's legibility (see Figure 14).

Another De Groot experiment was the printing of extra wide columns instead of extra small third columns, as is visible on the front page of the issue of 25 January 1740. This issue also had a curious back page, with the news continued in a small column next to the advertisements. Although such a back-page layout was repeated several times in the subsequent months, it would not be

37 "NB. Om voortaan gene veranderingen in de Haegse Couranten te maken, 't geen tot nu toe veel verwarring veroorzaekt heeft, is men te rade geworden de Na-Brieven (en 't gene verder onder het Drukken mogt voorkomen) door een Na-Courantje, wanneer 't de noodzakelykheyd vereyscht, op deeze wyze mede te deelen. Die 'er van gedient gelieft te zyn, kan het voor de helft van de prys van de Courant bekoomen.": 's *Gravenhaegse Courant*, 14 September 1739.

38 Other examples of this newspaper's issues with four pages: 28 December 1739 (also with small third columns); 11 January, 8 February, and 23 May 1740; 9 and 20 April, and 20 August 1742.

39 This could lead to empty spaces; see, e.g., pages 4 of the 23 and 28 November, and 19 December 1740 issues.



FIGURE 14 Publisher Anthoni de Groot's announcement of in his 1 January 1740's *Gravenhaegse Courant* that he has replaced his letter-type with a more legible font
COPY HAAGS GEMEENTEARCHIEF, THE HAGUE (PHOTOGRAPH JOOP KOOPMANS)

pursued or imitated; neither were the different widths of the regular columns.⁴⁰ It is doubtful whether these layout variations were appreciated or fulfilled the publisher's and his customers' expectations.

Finally, De Groot's insertion of a few illustrations, in 1742, was exceptional, as Dutch early modern newspapers normally only presented text and would have needed another, more expensive printing press to include engravings. The first illustration was a rather small and simple picture of a comet, published in the 9 March 1742 issue, and referring to the news that such a celestial body had been visible in the Netherlands a few days before (see Figure 15). The second print was more impressive: an image of a Dutch army camp in The Hague, appearing in the city's newspaper of 11 June 1742 (see Figure 16). This print was also separately published in The Hague by Cornelis van Buren, with more extensive explanatory notes. This publisher and bookseller resided in the same street as De Groot (see Figure 17). It suggests cooperation between these neighbours, who both worked in the same industry.

40 See the issues of 3, 5 and 8 February 1740, and 11 and 14 March 1740.



FIGURE 15 Anonymous image of a comet, published in the 9 March 1742 's *Gravenhaegse Courant* issue

COPY HAAGS GEMEENTEARCHIEF, THE HAGUE (PHOTOGRAPH JOOP KOOPMANS)

Although De Groot had meanwhile continued the practice of including information in the margins, from 16 March 1740 he mostly printed in two landscape columns—in this case of 10 lines each⁴¹—and, furthermore, not news reports but advertisements (see Figure 18).⁴² It is not clear why he changed the system. Although De Groot did not definitely end portrait-printed margins,⁴³ the landscape system became the model all over the country, for both advertise-

41 De Groot's number of landscape lines in the margins varied between five and 12 in this period. Printed margins were not always present on both pages. See, e.g., 's *Gravenhaegse Courant*, 24 October 1740, with printed margins on only pages 2 and 3. This issue included on the back page De Groot's extensive advertisement concerning the reprint of all 's *Gravenhaegse Courant*'s issues from 1708. The subscription price of one year would be 37 stivers for reprints on ordinary paper and 43 stivers on 'finer and whiter paper'. The announcement was repeated on 7 November 1740. The project has probably never been carried out, as such reprints are not catalogued. See also Sautijn Kluit, 'De 's *Gravenhaegse Courant*', p. 37. The 11 March 1743 issue is exceptional because it has a front page with a landscape printed margin and a back page with two completely landscape printed columns only including advertisements.

42 Several 1741 margins, again including news items, had three landscape columns of different sizes, while in 1742 four landscape columns of the same size became common.

43 See, e.g., the 3, 6 and 13 February, and 6 and 10 March 1741 issues.



FIGURE 16 Anonymous image of the military camp in The Hague on 29 May 1742, published in the 11 June 1742's *Gravenhaegse Courant*
COPY HAAGS GEMEENTEARCHIEF, THE HAGUE (PHOTOGRAPH JOOP KOOPMANS)

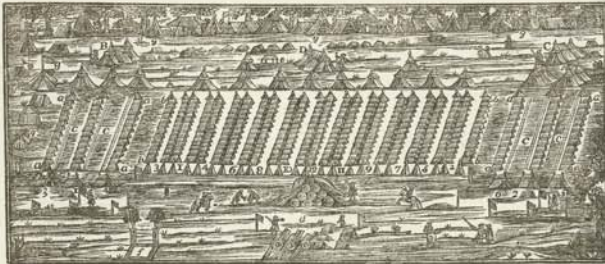
ments and news items. The word 'model' implies that De Groot's practice of printing extra text by using the margins was imitated by Dutch competitors. This happened very soon indeed, which means that Dutch newspaper publishers welcomed De Groot's idea as cost-effective with regard to the use of paper, and also that customers approved or accepted it, which was another crucial factor that had to be taken into account.

3 Marginal Printing in Other Dutch Newspapers

The *Amsterdamse Courant* was the second Dutch newspaper to use the margins for printing extra information, initially doing so in the issue of 7 May 1740. Publisher Jan Spanjert used the margins for including advertisements. The printed margins in this issue resulted in eight extra announcements, thus also bringing in additional revenue. Like the Hague newspaper, the Amsterdam paper had three editions per week. Of the 93 Amsterdam 1740 issues available in Delpher,

A F B E E L D I N G, VAN 'T C A M P E M E N T,

Dat Dingsdag den 29 May 1742. door de Guardes te Paerd en te Voet in 't Haagſe Boſch, bezyden de Maliebaen, betrokken is geworden.



Explicatie van de bovenſtaande Afbeeldinge.

C A V A L L E R Y.

- 1 De Lyf-Compagnie van den Heer Generael-Major en Collonel, Grave van Bentheim.
- 2 De Compagnie van den Heer Major en Collonel, Grave van Hompeſch.
- 3 De Compagnie van den Heer Collonel-Commandant, P. Hoefft van Oyen.
- 4 De Compagnie van den Heer Lieut. Collonel en Ritmeester, L. Hoefft van Oyen.
- 5 De Compagnie van den Heer Lieut. Coll. en Ritmeester, A. J. van der Duyn Maesdam.
- 6 De Compagnie van den Heer Lieut. Collonel en Ritmeester, Ch. Baron van Bentinck.

I N F A N T E R Y.

- 1 De Compagnie van den Heer Generael-Major, Van der Duyn.
- 2 De Compagnie van den Heer Lieut. Collonel, L. A. van Kretſchmar.
- 3 De Compagnie van den Heer Major, L. Feriet, Grenadiers.
- 4 De Compagnie van den Heer Collonel-Commandant, C. I. Mahony.
- 5 De Compagnie van den Heer Lieut. Collonel, A. M. L. T. de Gorce.
- 6 De Compagnie van den Heer Lieut. Collonel, F. A. de la Riviere.
- 7 De Compagnie van den Heer Lieut. Collonel, A. van Broekhuysen.
- 8 De Compagnie van den Heer Lieut. Collonel, W. de Bourghelle.
- 9 De Compagnie van den Heer Lieut. Collonel, J. C. Smiffaert.
- 10 De Compagnie van den Heer Lieut. Collonel, R. van Kinfchot.
- 11 De Compagnie van den Heer Lieut. Collonel, E. V. Raders.
- 12 De Compagnie van den Heer Lieut. Collonel, B. Onderwater.

De Spitten waer tuſſchen de voorgaende Cyffers gedrukt ſtaen, beteekenen de Geweer-Kappen, daer de Infanterie, buyten Exercitie zynde, hunne Snaphanen onder plaetſt.

- A De Tent van den Heer Grave van Bentheim, &c.
B De Tent van den Heer Grave van Hompeſch, &c.
C De Tent van den Heer P. Hoefft van Oyen, &c.
D De Tent van den Heer L. A. van Kretſchmar, &c.

De overige vyftien groote Tenten, dewelke eeven agter die der gemeene ſtaen, zyn van de Lieut. Collonels, enz.

- e Deze :::: beteekenen de plaetſen alwaer de Paerden tuſſchen de reyen Tenten van de Cavallerie geſchaerd ſtaen.

d Front- en Brand-Wagt.

e De Tent waeronder het Baskruyd werd uytgedeeld.

f De Standplaets der Tent van Haer Hoog Mog. by de Monſteringe.

g Ordinariſſen, Wyn-, Koffy-, als meede een groote meeninge andere Eet-, Drink- en Zoetelaers-Tenten.

De Twaelf voor het Front ſtaande Vaentjes, beteekenen de Piquets of Quartier-Vlaggen.

I N 't G R A V E N H A G E,

By CORNELIS VAN BUREN, in de Zuylingſtraet, over de Latynſche Schoole, 1742.

FIGURE 17 Anonymous image of the military camp in The Hague on 29 May 1742, published in The Hague by Cornelis van Buren, 1742
COPY RIJKSMEUSEM AMSTERDAM, THE NETHERLANDS

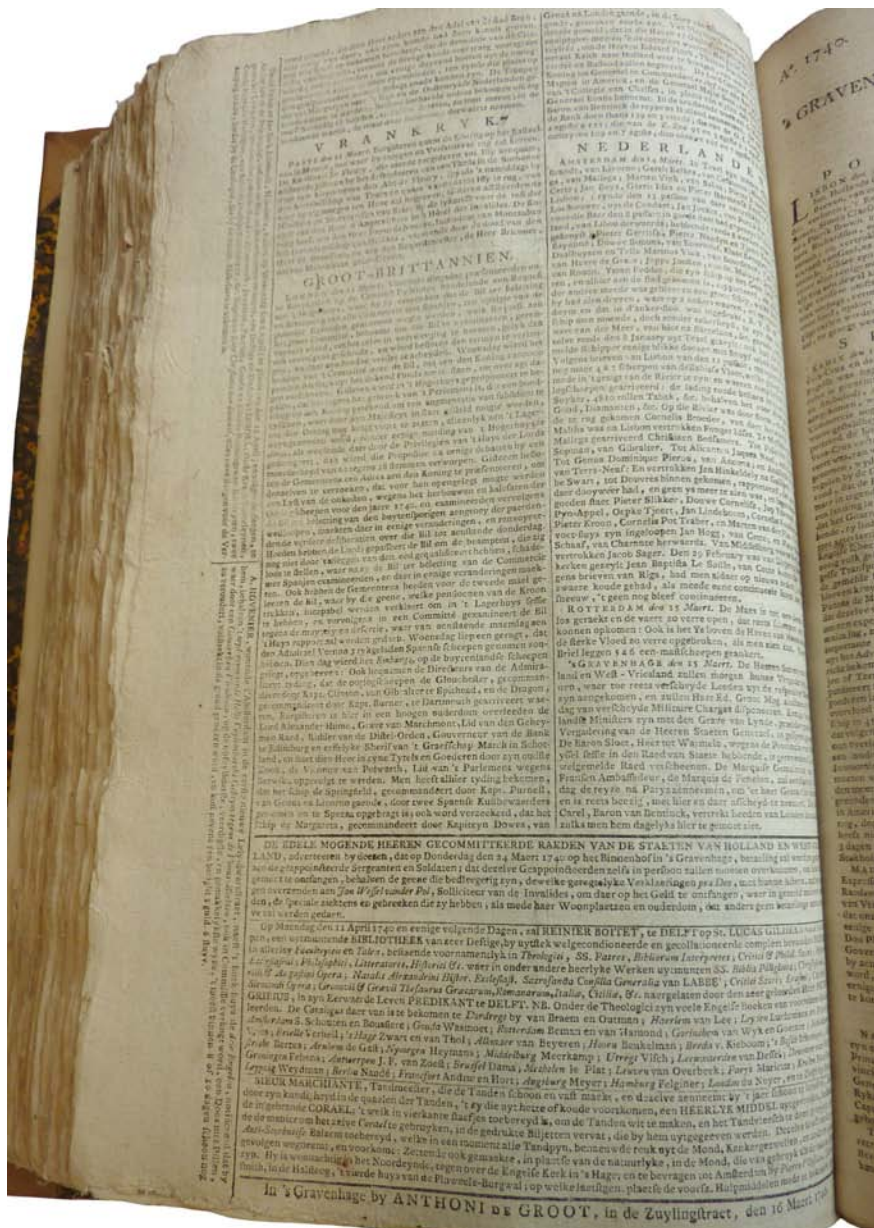


FIGURE 18 Back page of the 16 March 1740's *Gravenhaegse Courant*, the first Hague issue with landscape-printed margins
COPY HAAGS GEMEENTEARCHIEF, THE HAGUE (PHOTOGRAPH JOOP KOOPMANS)

only 15 issues lacked printed margins.⁴⁴ These figures suggest that Spanjert and his employees seem to have embraced the new technique even faster than their Hague colleague De Groot. The 1741 figures are a little less impressive, however: of the 148 Amsterdam 1741 issues in Delpher, 55 lacked printed margins, while five had a printed margin on only the back page.⁴⁵ January, February, July, August, and October were the months with at least seven to nine issues without printed margins, thus most likely reflecting periods in which Spanjert had sufficient space to publish the information he wished and had been offered.⁴⁶

It is interesting to notice that the Amsterdam newspaper had printed margins on the front page's right side and on the back page's left side, as well as vice versa. Around 1740 the *'s Gravenhaegse Courant* published its printed information only in the margins of the front page's right side and the back page's left side. So did the triweekly *Leydsche Courant*, which was the third Dutch newspaper with landscape printed margins. The Leiden newspaper, however, resembled its Amsterdam competitor in terms of the margins' content, as it only used the sides for advertisements. The young Leiden publisher Anthony de Kloppe first employed the margins in his issue of 10 October 1740, thus five months later than his Amsterdam colleagues had done.⁴⁷ All 31 Leiden issues published in 1740 after this 10 October edition, and all 155 Leiden issues published in 1741, included printed margins on both pages, making it the most

44 The 1740 issues without printed margins are: 18, 23, 25, 28 and 30 June, 4, 9, 11 and 13 August, 6 and 20 September and 1, 3, 5 and 8 November 1740. I am grateful to Sonja Babaubun who checked the University of Amsterdam Library's copies of 12, 24 and 31 May, 18 and 30 August, 17 September, 5 and 24 November and 24 December 1740, which are not available in Delpher.

45 The issues of 27 and 30 May, 12 August, 21 and 28 October 1741. Samples in arbitrary subsequent decades demonstrate that the Amsterdam newspaper increasingly continued the use of the margins for printing extra advertisements. In 1770, for instance, all 156 issues in Delpher were published with printed margins of 16 lines each, thus occupying a considerable part of the papers. The same applies for the 152 issues of 1780, with margins of 20 lines; the 155 issues of 1790, with margins of 22 lines; and the 156 issues of 1800, with margins around 20 lines.

46 Delpher does not include the 24 January, 21 and 28 March, 2 and 18 May, 6 June and 29 August 1741 issues (consulted 7 April 2017), neither do the Amsterdam City Archive and the University of Amsterdam Library. About this newspaper: W.P. Sautijn Kluit, 'De Amsterdamsche Courant', *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, Nieuwe Reeks, 5 (1868), pp. 209–292.

47 Anthoni de Kloppe was born in 1724. He succeeded his father Felix de Kloppe in 1738: W.P. Sautijn Kluit, 'De Hollandsche Leidsche Courant', *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (1871), pp. 3–86, at p. 45.

consistent Dutch newspaper in terms of marginal use.⁴⁸ In subsequent years Leiden issues without printed margins remained exceptions to the rule.⁴⁹

It took almost four years before the next Dutch newspaper introduced marginal printing. The *Utrechtse Courant* was then a new triweekly newspaper published in the city of Utrecht by Anzelmus Muntendam. The Utrecht magistrate had given him permission for his newspaper project at the end of 1743.⁵⁰ Muntendam used the margins for the first time in his issue of 4 May 1744, soon after he had established his paper. He most likely did this for printing the foreign news reports that had arrived on his desk after the regular columns had already been filled, as these items followed the news articles that were classed under the heading of 'the Netherlands', and continued in the margins.⁵¹ Of the subsequent Utrecht issues of 1744, half had a printed margin on both front and back pages, while three issues had one only on the back page.⁵² Sometimes the Utrecht margins included complete news sections, as for instance the 29 May 1744 issue in which all the news from Great Britain and the Netherlands appeared in the margins.⁵³ In such cases, the margins were not reserved for subsequent correspondence, but were considered ordinary, usable parts of the page. Printed margins in the Wednesday editions were rare in the Utrecht newspaper's first year, which is an indication that this edition was regarded as less important than the Monday and Friday editions.⁵⁴ Muntendam's subsequent years also showed an irregular pattern concerning the use of margins.

48 Delpher does not include the 11 November 1741 issue, and neither does the site of Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, at <https://leiden.courant.nu/periodicals/LYC/1741> (both consulted 9 April 2017).

49 This is based on a scan (of 9 April 2017) through the Delpher collection until 1760 and several samples until 1800. The Leiden newspaper had margins with two landscape printed columns.

50 The triweekly frequency started in April 1744. Muntendam's newspaper was not the first with the title 'Utrechtse Courant'. W.P. Sautijn Kluit, 'Hollandsche en Fransche Utrechtsche couranten', *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, 1 (1877), pp. 26–168, at pp. 119–121.

51 The Netherlands ('Nederlanden') was the last heading in the Dutch newspapers with a classification system based on state names. Newspapers always started with news reports from countries situated furthest away from the Low Countries.

52 Based on the copies in Het Utrechts Archief (Utrecht Archive), as during my research Delpher did not yet include copies of this newspaper prior to 1747, and only few copies after this year. The Utrecht margins began with three landscape columns, and later two or four.

53 The Utrecht newspaper would change to advertisements in the margins in later decades. See, e.g., *Utrechtse Courant*, 17 March 1775.

54 It concerns the issues of Wednesdays 26 August, and 2 and 30 December 1744.

A consequence of landscape printed margins was, of course, another way of reading the papers, as readers had to rotate the sheets. Furthermore, they had to return to the front pages when late-arriving news reports on back pages were continued in the margins of front pages—sometimes even in the middle of a sentence.⁵⁵ Sometimes publishers helped readers by providing information such as “follow up on the side of the first page”.⁵⁶ In 1744, the Utrecht publisher gradually omitted instructions of this kind, however. This indicates that readers were expected to be familiar with this layout after a while.

It is remarkable that the Haarlem *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, being one of the most established and oldest Dutch newspapers, did not fill its margins until 11 November 1749, thus ten years after its Hague competitor had introduced the system. Did the Enschedé publishing company consider filled margins a less-respectable layout? Did they simply not need to fill the empty spaces until then, or did some of their readers dislike printed margins, preferring to use them for private reasons such as making notes (see Figure 19)? Newspapers had audiences from different layers of society of varying tastes. It is known, for instance, that the Haarlem newspaper's copies were available in two kinds of paper around 1740. The better-quality issues cost three-quarters or five-eighths of a stiver, and those on ‘common’ paper half a stiver. The percentage of fine copies—probably ordered by the well-to-do—was low: less than ten percent in 1738 and even less than five percent in 1742; thus most buyers chose the cheaper variant.⁵⁷ The use of different types of paper suggests that publishers responded to the wishes of their clients.

It is no longer possible to estimate the number of readers who might have had an aversion to marginal printing, yet different opinions must have existed concerning this practice. In any case, from 11 November 1749, the Haarlem newspaper used the margins of about half of the subsequent 1749 issues for placing advertisements, with the same strategies of placement as the Amsterdam newspaper. Thus margins could be printed on the front page's right side and on the back page's left side, as well as vice versa. In January 1750, how-

55 See, e.g., 's *Gravenhaegse Courant*, 11 March 1743, which only had a printed margin on the front page. The portrait-printed last sentence of the second column ends landscape-printed in the margin.

56 “'t vervolg op de kant van de eerste pagina.”: 's *Gravenhaegse Courant*, 7 November 1742 and *Utrechtse Courant*, 4 May 1744. From September 1744 not all Utrecht issues with printed margins included the instruction anymore.

57 A discount was offered to wholesale buyers: D.H. Couvée, ‘The Administration of the “Oprechte Haarlemse Courant” 1738–1742’, *Gazette: International Journal of the Science of the Press*, 4 (1958), pp. 91–110, at p. 97.

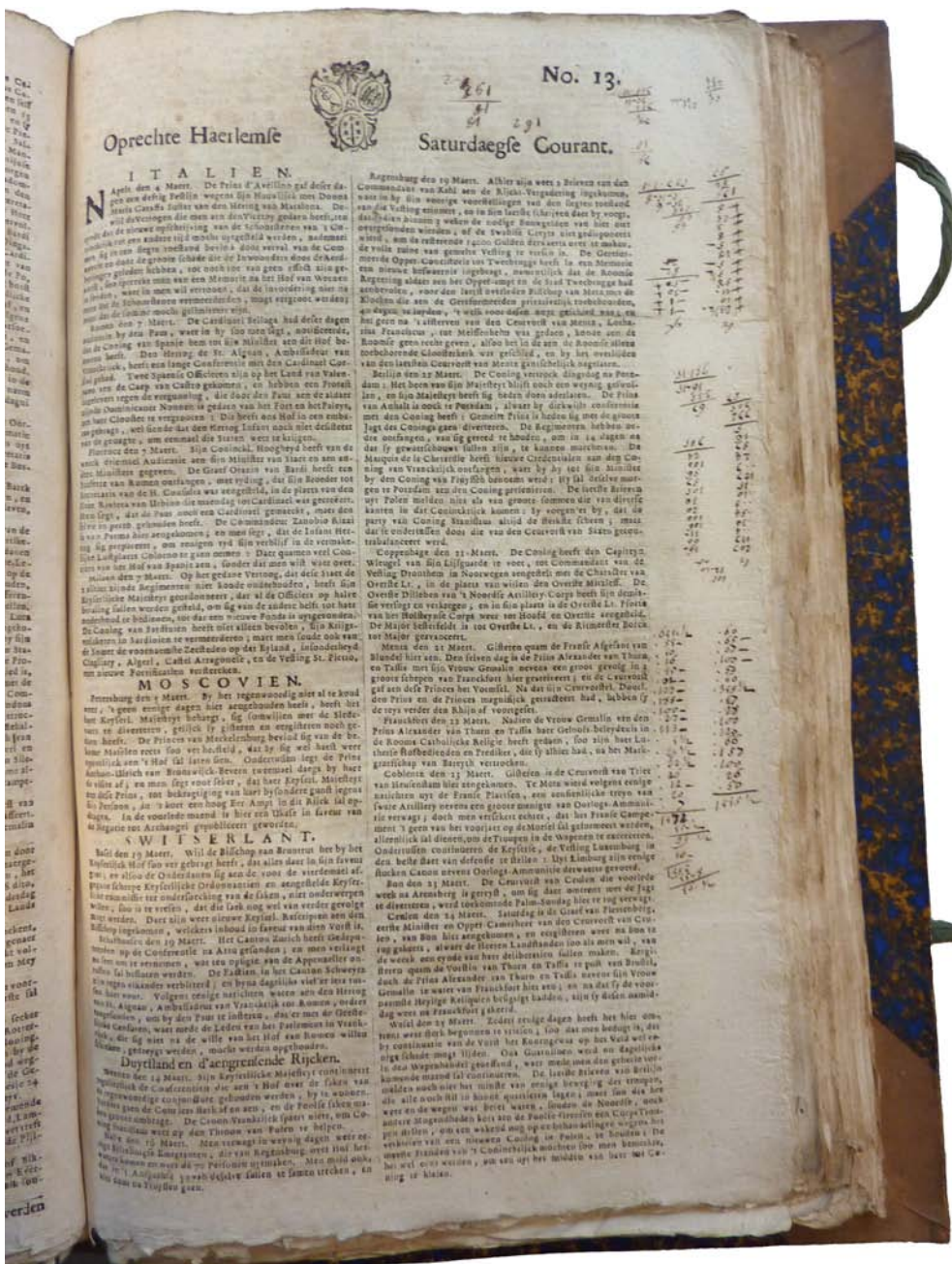


FIGURE 19 Notes on the front page of the 28 March 1733 *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* issue
COPY NOORD-HOLLANDS ARCHIEF, HAARLEM, THE NETHERLANDS

ever, the Haarlem newspaper stopped marginal printing, though it resumed this practice after three months (on 31 March), and from then on once again filled the margins in about half of the issues.⁵⁸ This erratic pattern was continued in the subsequent years, which makes the Haarlem newspaper one of the less convincing users of marginal printing.

The last remark is even more applicable to the biweekly *Opregte Groninger Courant* (since 1743) and the triweekly *Rotterdamse Courant* [Rotterdam Newspaper; since 1738]. In 1756 both newspapers used the margins for advertisements a few times: Groningen for the first time on 3 February, and Rotterdam on 30 March. Groningen's first use can be explained by the fact that the paper's back page was completely filled with an announcement of the Groningen *Hoge Justitiekamer* (High Justice Chamber), which must have caused a shortage of space. After modestly-printed sides with columns of a few lines in five other issues until April 1756,⁵⁹ Groningen newspaper publisher Jacobus Sipkes continued this practice sporadically: he filled the margins of only 13 back pages prior to the 13 June 1758 issue, which had printed margins on both pages again.⁶⁰ It is curious to note that the Groningen newspaper only filled front-page margins when the back-page margins were not sufficient. Such a choice—probably a matter of taste—suggests that publishers did not slavishly follow competitors. Anyhow, it took many years before the use of margins became more frequent in Groningen.

The Rotterdam newspaper, which was managed by the jurist Jan Abraham Casteleyn and his son Jacobus, also had a slow advance after March 1756 as regards the use of its margins.⁶¹ The first copy with printed margins had only ten successors in 1756, all in the months September–November, followed by eight in 1757. In 1758–1761 and 1764 almost all Rotterdam issues had empty margins, in contrast to 1762 and 1763 (until the autumn), with many printed margins.⁶² The Rotterdam paper's regular use of its margins became habitual around 1770—

58 The 13 November 1749 Haarlem issue had a printed margin only on the back page.

59 The 10 (back page only) and 24 February, 2 (back page only) and 19 March, and 2 April 1756 issues. The 19 March issue had an advertisement on the back-side that was continued on the front page.

60 Back pages of the 22 and 29 April, 27 September, 4 October, 18 and 25 November, and 13 December 1757 issues, and the 31 January, 21 February, 14 and 28 March, and 25 April 1758 issues.

61 About this newspaper: W.P. Sautijn Kluit, 'De Rotterdamsche Courant', *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (1878), pp. 3–92.

62 Based on the copies of Stadsarchief Rotterdam (Rotterdam City Archives), as during my research Delpher did not yet include copies of this newspaper between 1755 and 1764.

also the years in which Casteleyn's co-*courantier* Reinier Arrenberg increased the newspaper's prestige and profitability.⁶³

The *Hollandsche Historische Courant*, published in Delft, was one of the last Dutch newspapers of the 1740s and 1750s to use the margins for extra information. Its issue of 6 April 1758 had a back page with a left landscape-printed margin, including advertisements, followed by a few issues (8, 11 and 20 April) with similar margins on the front page's right side. The issue of 6 May 1758 was peculiar, because it had a front-page margin with a few advertisements and a back-page margin with a news report. Publisher Johannes Luisius van Essen repeated this layout in later issues, as well as vice versa.⁶⁴ News messages in the margins could be very short, sometimes only one sentence, as for instance the following message in the 7 June 1764 issue: "The Hague, 6 June, His Illustrious Highness, the Prince and hereditary Stadtholder, attended the States General's deliberations again yesterday". Such brief messages reveal that the use of the margins remained fairly limited in the Delft newspaper, as compared with the Groningen and Rotterdam newspapers.

There is no need to continue the story with other Dutch newspapers founded in the second half of the eighteenth century, since their use of the margins was by then no longer unique. Nevertheless, two final examples demonstrate that the phenomenon of printed margins had become generally accepted in the Dutch Republic in the late 1750s. The Frisian *Leeuwarder Courant*, which had started as a weekly paper on 29 July 1752 and had appeared biweekly since 11 May 1757, began filling the margins very slowly after 26 November 1757. The front page was not used for this for more than two years.⁶⁵ The Leeuwarden newspaper, printed in quarto, varied more than the other papers in its number of pages. This was easier to realize in this newspaper's format compared with the larger folio format of the other newspapers, as far less information was needed to fill extra pages. Because of this, printed margins must have been less necessary. The Leeuwarden newspaper was not as efficient in its use of paper, since it occasionally had issues with an uneven number of pages, and thus a

63 In 1765 bookseller Arrenberg started as Jan Abraham Casteleyn's (†1774) co-*courantier*: Sautijn Kluit, 'De Rotterdamsche Courant', pp. 36–44.

64 Based on the (incomplete series of) copies in the Archief Delft (Delft Archive), as during my research Delpher did not yet include copies of this newspaper between 1750 and 1778. About this newspaper: W.P. Sautijn Kluit, 'Delfsche Couranten', *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (1872), pp. 25–88.

65 Printed margins appeared only five times in 1757 and five times in 1759. The 16 February 1760 issue is the first with a printed margin on the front page (followed by printed margins on this issue's three other pages).

TABLE 2 Dates of Dutch newspapers' first issues with printed margins; marginal contents and placement concern these and immediately subsequent issues

Newspaper	First printed margins	Content	Place of printed margins
The Hague	1739: 5 October	news or ads	front page: right—back page: left
Amsterdam	1740: 7 May	ads	no fixed system
Leiden	1740: 10 October	ads	front page: right—back page: left
Utrecht	1744: 4 May	news	front page: right—back page: left
Haarlem	1749: 11 November	ads	no fixed system
Groningen	1756: 3 February	ads	front page: right—back page: left
Rotterdam	1756: 30 March	ads	front page: right—back page: left
Delft	1757: 6 April	ads and news	front page: right—back page: left
Leeuwarden	1757: 26 November	ads	uneven page: right—even page: left
Middelburg	1758: 24 May	ads	front page: right—back page: left

blank back page.⁶⁶ The biweekly Zeeland newspaper *Middelburgse Courant* is the second example. Its first issue dates from 26 April 1758, and it copied the practice of printed margins already in its issue of 24 May 1758.⁶⁷ Many such Middelburg issues would follow in the subsequent years.

4 The End of Marginal Printing

The above overview of Dutch newspapers with printed margins (see also Table 2) logically leads to the assumption that Dutch newspapers with many printed margins, such as the Leiden and Amsterdam papers in the 1740s, were also the newspapers delivering the greatest amount of information on almost the same format of paper. This assumption, however, cannot be determined by the presence of printed margins alone, as more precise research concerning letter sizes, numbers of pages, lines per column and words or even charac-

66 About this newspaper: Broersma, *Beschaafde vooruitgang*. One quarto page of this newspaper was c. 21 × c. 17 cm. I am grateful to Gerda Huisman (University Library Groningen) for this information.

67 An example of swift imitation is the Brabant newspaper 's *Hertogenbossche Courant*. It started on 2 July 1771 and had its first printed margins already in its second issue of 5 July (back page) and its third issue of 9 July (both pages).

TABLE 3 Numbers of words (rounded to nearest 25) in Dutch newspapers of 21–22 October 1748

Newspaper	Words totals	Words news items	Words ads	Words in margins
Leiden	4,700	2,825	1,875	1,100
The Hague	4,650	2,475	2,175	600
Amsterdam	4,400	1,850	2,550	600
Rotterdam	3,925	3,575	350	0
Haarlem	3,900	3,050	850	0
Groningen	3,700	3,350	350	0
Utrecht	3,675	2,975	700	525
Delft	3,525	3,525	0	0

ters across a long period is also needed for this.⁶⁸ Unfortunately, such time-consuming research is not yet feasible, and will have to wait until further digital possibilities have been realized.

Nevertheless, one word-count sample from October 1748 already provides striking insights (see Table 3).⁶⁹ First of all, the 21 / 22 October newspapers of Leiden, The Hague and Amsterdam included the highest numbers of words, followed by Rotterdam, Haarlem and the others. Secondly, it is logical to assume that printed margins generated higher word-counts than would have been reached without them. The sample makes clear that the numbers of words in the margins could be impressive, and really did lead to a substantial increase in information. Although the Utrecht figures do not support this conclusion fully, they can be partially explained by the fact that the 21 October issue included a

68 The numbers of weekly and extra editions also have to be considered in research into which newspapers delivered the most text.

69 These dates have been chosen because they led to an almost complete set of late 1740s newspapers in Delpher, which had to be supplemented with only the Rotterdam issue. The sample concerns a period in which half of the newspapers had printed margins and half of them did not have them. Two days were necessary for the comparison because the triweekly newspapers of The Hague, Leiden and Utrecht were published on Monday 21 October 1748 and the other newspapers—triweekly, except for the Groningen newspaper which was biweekly—were published on Tuesday, 22 October 1748. The figures in Table 3 have been rounded to make them more comprehensible, and because most of them are based on the digital OCR texts, which are not completely reliable.

taxation chart (and therefore white space) on the front page, resulting in fewer words than a full printed margin would have had. In other words, it is plausible that the Utrecht newspaper would generally have surpassed Groningen and come close to Haarlem and Rotterdam. Finally, it is worth noting that the Amsterdam newspaper included the most space for advertisements.⁷⁰ It is likely, of course, that a complete survey of all issues for all dates would deliver different figures; this single sample only points in a certain direction that needs further research. Yet impressions from later years also point in the same direction: the Amsterdam, The Hague and Leiden newspapers were the leading Dutch titles as regards the quantity of printed text and numbers of advertisements.

Just as there was variation in the use of printed margins between Dutch cities, there was also variation between countries. As already stated, landscape printed margins were not solely a Dutch phenomenon. Newspaper publishers likely picked up the idea while following the papers of their competitors, which crossed borders and oceans. Some of them probably decided to imitate the practice, which theoretically could also have started in different places independently. In any case, colonial American newspapers of the 1750s were also familiar with printed margins. One such example is *The Boston Gazette, or Country Journal*, a newspaper that already had three regular columns at that time. This colonial example puts forward another reasonable explanation for the use of the margins, beyond the cost-effectiveness that seems to have been one of the most plausible Dutch reasons. In contrast to the Dutch Republic, a country that exported paper in large quantities, the North American colonies did not have many paper mills around 1750. Colonial America always had desperate shortages of rags, the material that was needed for the production of paper until the nineteenth century.⁷¹ It seems therefore credible that colonial newspapers avoided wasting paper sheets simply because they were confronted with paper scarcity.

The Boston example and several mid-eighteenth-century Dutch newspapers still had only a few lines in the margins. The number of marginal lines would increase, however. In the last decades of the eighteenth century many Dutch landscape-printed margins had around 20 lines, occupying almost the same space on a sheet as the portrait-printed regular columns. This raises the

⁷⁰ The Delft figure of zero in this table is not representative, because this newspaper normally included advertisements.

⁷¹ I am grateful to Will Slauter for this information. See also Roger Mellen, 'The Press, Paper Shortages, and Revolution in Early America', *Media History*, 21:1 (2015): pp. 23–41.

question why Dutch publishers did not change the margins to regular portrait-printed third columns, or consider using other paper sizes. This would indeed happen, albeit not before the nineteenth century.⁷² It is remarkable that the abolishment of printed margins by Dutch newspapers, partially in combination with the introduction of pages with more than two regular columns, happened as irregularly as had the introduction of printed margins in the 1740s and 1750s.

The last statement leads to a final crucial question: which Dutch newspaper was the last to have landscape marginal printing? Until now, the issue of the *Rotterdamsche Courant* of 31 December 1842 is the last I found in the Delpher collection—having four pages, all with a large printed margin, including steamboat ferry schedules and advertisements (see Figure 20).

This means that the Rotterdam newspaper not only belongs to the late introducers of this phenomenon, but also to the last newspapers abolishing it. Rotterdam publishing company Jan Arrenberg & Co. first announced its layout change, which would begin in 1843, in the issue of Thursday 15 December 1842, in a message below the newspaper's title and date. All pages would henceforth be laid out in three columns of the same width. In a last sentence the message hinted—after information about advertisement tariffs—to a reason why marginal printing had been attractive for advertisers. It stated:

The changed division of the pages makes the request to deliver all Advertisements, which the esteemed Correspondents wish to have properly published, as early as possible, even more necessary.⁷³

To put it differently: the publisher revealed that the publication of late advertisements had been less problematic in the layout with printed margins than in the new system. If we assume that this is correct, it is doubtful whether all advertisers would have been happy with the 1843 layout change. Be that as it may, complaints or questions do not seem to have reached the publisher concerning the elimination of marginal printing, but his prices were commented upon, since in the edition of 24 December he calmed his readers with a state-

72 With three regular columns, the *Vaderlandsche Courant* [Fatherland Newspaper; 1781–1787], is a Dutch eighteenth-century exception. Examples of this newspaper are available on the site “Het geheugen van Nederland”, <http://www.geheugenvannederland.nl/> (via ‘Vaderlandsche Courant’; consulted 28 February 2018).

73 “De veranderde verdeeling der bladzijden maakt het verzoek tot zoo vroegtijdig mogelijke bezorging van alle Advertentiën, welke de geëerde Inzenders voegzaam geplaatst wenschen te zien, des te meer noodzakelijk.”: *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 15 December 1842.

ment that both the subscription price and the advertisements tariffs would remain the same in 1843.⁷⁴

The Rotterdam newspaper was quite late in abolishing marginal printing, since many Dutch newspapers, including the Groningen and Middelburg papers, had already ended the practice during the French Occupation of 1810–1813.⁷⁵ In this period they had been forced to change their titles and they had to become bilingual, with pages consisting of two wide columns, one in French and one in Dutch. Although they had restarted under their original titles after 1813, they had not returned to the old layout with printed margins. On the other hand, after 1813 several other newspapers continued the same layout as before the Napoleonic era, but they ended marginal printing in later years: The Hague in 1826,⁷⁶ Haarlem and Amsterdam in 1827,⁷⁷ Leeuwarden in 1829,⁷⁸ Utrecht in 1830,⁷⁹ and Leiden in 1831.⁸⁰ In its 25 December 1829 issue the then-Leeuwarden publisher had announced that his newspaper would be published in two wide

74 “De meermalen aangekondigde verandering in den vorm der *ROTTERDAMSCHÉ courant*, met den aanvang van het jaar 1843, zal evenmin eenige verhooging van het Abonnement als van den prijs der Advertentiën ten gevolge hebben, blijvende het eerste bij voortduring bepaald op f12 [= 12 guilders], of f3 per kwartaal; (...).”: *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 24 December 1843.

75 The 29 January 1811 issue was the last *Groninger Courant* with printed margins. This newspaper returned in 1814, with in between the newspaper *Feuille d’affiches, annonces et avis divers de Groningue* / *Advertentieblad, bekendmakingen en onderscheidene berigten van Groningen*. The last *Middelburgsche Courant* issue with printed margins was published on 16 May 1811, succeeded by the bilingual *Journal du département des bouches de l’Escaut*. This newspaper returned as the *Middelbursche Courant* on 26 April 1814, keeping the same layout as its French-Dutch predecessors. See <https://krantenbankzeeland.nl/periodicals/mco> (consulted 15 April 2017). The Delft *Hollandsche Historische Courant* did not exist anymore in this period.

76 The last printed margins in the ‘s *Gravenhaegse Courant* were in the 29 December 1826 issue. This newspaper was succeeded by *Dagblad van ‘s Gravenhage*, a paper with two portrait-printed columns in a smaller format than its predecessor.

77 The last printed margins in the *Opregte Haarlemsche* [sic] *Courant*: 29 December 1827; after that three portrait-printed columns per page; the last issue in the *Amsterdamse Courant*: 31 December 1827; after that two portrait-printed columns per page (based on copies in Amsterdam City Archive).

78 The last printed margins in the *Leeuwarder Courant*: 29 December 1829. In July 1814 the Leeuwarden newspaper changed its format from quarto to folio. See also Broersma, *Beschaafde vooruitgang*, p. 185.

79 The last printed margins in the *Utrechtse Courant*: 31 December 1830; from 1831 it had two portrait-printed columns per page.

80 The last printed margins in the *Leydse Courant*: 30 December 1831; after that two portrait-printed columns per page.

columns from 1 January 1830 “by popular demand”. This means that transverse reading of newspapers was no longer popular and was considered outdated. Thus, the end of marginal printing was also the end of rotating the newspaper during reading it.

5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter explored the page layout of early modern Dutch newspapers to get a better insight into the ways their publishers used paper. It confirmed the efficient use of paper by newspaper publishers and it provided several indications concerning their competitiveness. All newspaper publishers published as much information as possible by printing text on both sides of the sheets, with very small fonts. From the 1740s the margins were also used for news items and advertisements in order to print more text than could be included in the regular columns per page. The Hague publisher Anthoni de Groot was the Dutch pioneer in marginal printing, first doing so in October 1739, when he laid out portrait-printed small third columns in the margins, and very soon filling them with landscape-printed information. His Amsterdam and Leiden colleagues imitated the landscape model after five and twelve months respectively. Other Dutch newspapers followed at a slower pace, and most of them irregularly at first. Perhaps their publishers disliked the use of margins. More convincing, however, seems to be the explanation that they initially did not yet need the margins, as they were offered fewer advertisements than their competitors in the larger cities. Nonetheless, within a few decades landscape marginal printing was a normal practice in Dutch newspapers.

Using the margins began as an attractive method for publishing late-arriving news reports or advertisements. Advertisers bringing in copy shortly before the typesetting was completed must have been glad of this possibility, since waiting on publication in the next edition had been avoided in this way. As long as the margins included only a few messages, some advertisers may even have considered these parts of the paper as more prominent than a less visible place somewhere in the middle of a large column with many other advertisements. Although transverse-printed information required another way of reading newspapers, many readers likely also appreciated this practice, as it increased value for money, at least as long as newspapers' prices remained the same. And finally, the publishers must have been happy after all, as they could increase their papers' topicality, their revenues and satisfy readers. Marginal printing was also a convenient solution in terms of using paper when there was not enough information available to fill extra pages or editions. Further-

more, the comparison with colonial America makes clear that paper scarcity may have been another reason for using the margins.

Since the start of marginal printing in Dutch newspapers coincided with the mid-eighteenth-century wars, it is tempting to link this form of printing to the increase in news reports as a result of warfare. However, this connection is very difficult to prove since far more circumstances have to be taken into account, such as other news topics of the time and the number of published advertisements. It is also clear that newspapers developed differently in this respect, which complicates generalization. A connection between warfare and an increase in paper use is only easy to demonstrate when newspapers published extra editions concerning war and peace.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century the numbers of marginal printed lines increased to occupy nearly the same space on the sheets as the portrait-printed columns. This demonstrates once again that marginal printing had become routine. The printing of bilingual newspapers during the Batavian-French period seems to have worked as a catalyst to abandon marginal printing. Nevertheless, this did not happen swiftly because several newspapers reintroduced the practice after the French occupation, possibly to restore the old familiar appearance. In the mid-nineteenth century, however, the practice disappeared. For the rest of the century, larger newspaper formats and other column widths would be used; numbers of pages and subscriptions would expand, new papers were founded, illustrations were introduced and many other changes would occur, all together resulting in a tremendous increase in the use of paper.

A Sense of Europe: the Making of This Continent in Early Modern Dutch News Media*

During the Middle Ages many European authors employed the word *Christianitas*—or vernacular synonyms such as, in English, Christianity or Christendom—instead of the geographical notion ‘Europe’ to identify their continent. Although medieval geographers continued to use the word ‘Europe’, an essentially neutral term at the time, the Roman Catholic Church was particularly influential in promoting the word *Christianitas*. The Catholic clergy hoped to make clear that Europe was a Christian world and Europeans were Christians. As Denys Hay concluded in his pioneering introduction to Europe as an idea, in this era the term Europe was ‘devoid of sentiment’, while Christendom was ‘a word with profound emotional overtones.’ Christianity was the bulwark against the threatening world of Muslims who had conquered the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, but it also represented the comfort and familiarity of home, far removed from the exotic, alien and largely unknown regions of Asia and Africa. This helps to explain why *Christianitas* and Christendom came into common use, while the term Europe remained comparatively rare.¹

However, during the Renaissance the meaning and idea of Europe changed. Humanists made synonyms of the words *Christianitas* and Europe by granting an emotional content to the latter. Gradually Europe became a more popular word than Christendom as a name for the European continent. A variety of reasons may explain this change, three of which will be briefly touched on here. In the first place, since the Late Middle Ages Christianity was no longer a unified entity, ruled by the pope in spiritual matters and the Emperor in the secular sphere. Europe consisted by this time of several important states, and their princes challenged the papal and imperial authorities. Secondly, in 1453 the Ottomans conquered the Byzantine capital of Constantinople, and occupied an important part of the Christian world. Although this area was Greek

* This chapter was earlier published in Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (eds.), *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 597–615. I wish to thank my colleague Anjana Singh for her stimulating remarks.

1 Denis Hay, *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1957), pp. 22–23, 27–30, 58 (quote); Heikki Mikkeli, *Europe as an Idea and an Identity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1998), pp. 22–31.

Orthodox, and regarded as very different from the Latin version of Christianity, it was considered as an essential part of Europe because of its Greek heritage. In the third place, Martin Luther's Reformation ended the unity of the Latin Christian world. Something new was needed to mobilize the people of Europe and unite them, for instance, in their struggle against the advancing Ottomans. In this conflict, which did not end until the eighteenth century, the concept of Europe fitted better than the idea of a single *Christianitas*.

The Italian humanist Enea Silvio Piccolomini was already strongly aware of this need for a new unity. He became Pope in 1458, only five years after the fall of Constantinople. As Pope Pius II he wished to reconquer the former Byzantine capital and he felt that he had to use a new ideology to create unity among the inhabitants of his continent. According to him Europe had to become the new word for 'our homes'. Yet in Pius's eyes, Europeans were still Christians, and most people would stick to this view during the next centuries. However, the words 'Europeans' and 'Christians' did not remain synonyms, mainly because of European interaction with other continents, which led to the spread of Christianity worldwide. As a result of this development we can discern another process. The so-called 'Age of Discovery' led to the controversial idea that Europeans inhabited a civilised world, in contrast with the 'despotic' world of Asians and the 'barbarian' world of Africans and Native Americans. According to this mindset Europe was synonymous with civilization, and the European elites esteemed their own society as the summit of human achievement.

As is well known, the printing press was one of the most important tools to disseminate and propagate ideas of 'us' and 'them' to a wide and growing audience across Europe. Most early modern Europeans would never travel outside their own region. Nevertheless, they could obtain a better understanding of their continent through a variety of printed media which kept them increasingly informed about what happened in their own continent, as well as other parts of the world visited by a small group of fellow Europeans. Several European news networks emerged to supply this information, and those networks were linked by improving postal systems, as well as by trade and diplomatic contacts.² Printed news media induced curiosity, spread knowledge in wider circles than before, and elicited specific responses to the news topics on which they reported. It seems clear that printed news media contributed to the construction of a European identity during the period in which other continents

2 Peter Rietbergen, *Europe: A Cultural History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 190–191, 208–236; Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp. 1–5, 177–186.

came increasingly into the consciousness of Europe's citizens. The issue is how this happened, and whether and to what extent it was intentional.

This chapter reflects on the European character of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch news media. It will function as a case study in the emergence of the concept of Europe and address the following questions: how might the content and layout of printed newspapers and news periodicals (here defined as those with less than weekly frequency) have affected the idea and construction of Europe among Dutch readers, and how did those media mirror or stimulate a sense of Europe? I will answer these questions by discussing several arguments, first by concentrating on the visible presence of the words 'Europe' and 'European' in the titles and contents of Dutch news media, where news items from other European countries predominated and relatively little attention was paid to domestic affairs. Furthermore, the European character of those media will be demonstrated through their layout, which was a vital element in shaping readers' perceptions, drawing their attention to reports published under the headings of European state names and cities. Finally, the allegorical presence of Europe in news prints—as Princess Europa—will be discussed, to show that these fashioning processes were not simply textual.

1 Argument One: Europe in Dutch News Media Titles

The publishers of the first printed European news media did not give very imaginative titles to their issues. Yet most titles would reveal their place of origin or give an idea of their content. The first printed Dutch newspaper, for example, was the 1618 Caspar van Hilten's *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt &c*, a title that suggested news in the text boxes from Italy, Germany and other European countries. The habit of naming a newspaper or periodical after the city where it was published became very widespread, such as the *Gazzetta di Mantova*, printed in the Italian city of Mantua from 1664, the *London Gazette*, an official newspaper launched in 1665 as the *Oxford Gazette*, or the *Wiener Zeitung*, the newspaper of the Austrian capital that began life as the *Wienerisches Diarium*.

However, several publishers or editors contrived titles in which the noun 'Europe' or the adjective 'European' was included. A few early English examples are *A True Relation of the Affaires of Europe* (1622) and *The Newes and Affaires of Europe* (1624), both published in London.³ By choosing such titles the editors

3 The rest of the first mentioned title, printed for Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne, revealed more about the content: *especially, France, Flanders, and the Palatinate. Whereby you*

probably tried to reach an audience and create a market that extended beyond the local citizens. In any case they expressed that news from different European corners would be presented in the columns. Only the title words' language made clear for which group these media were meant. This was not the case with linguistic regions, as newspapermen could and did publish their wares in different languages. Around 1700, for example, the French newspaper *Histoire journalière de ce qui se passe de plus considerable en Europe* was published in The Hague, thus not in France or another French-speaking region.⁴

One of the first Dutch news prints with 'Europe' or 'European' in the title was the *Europische Courant*, an Amsterdam newspaper of which copies survive for the period 1642–1646.⁵ Mathijs van Meininga published this coranto three times a week, an unusual periodicity for the time as most Dutch newspapers appeared weekly or twice a week at most. In 1645 Van Meininga's Amsterdam competitor Jan Jacobsz Bouman published the *Extra Europische tijdingen uyt verscheijde Quartieren* [Extra European tidings from several Quarters], twice a week.⁶ Another example is the *Wekelycke Mercurius van alle het gedenckwaerdigste dat door geheel Europa passeert* [Weekly Mercury of all the most noteworthy things happening throughout the whole of Europe], a newspaper published in The Hague in 1654 by Johannes Rammazeyn, but suppressed after only thirteen issues perhaps because of the editor's political position.⁷ Another attempt to establish a newspaper in The Hague was the *Haegsche Weeckelicke Mercurius, vervattende alle gedenckweerdigste advysen van geheel Europa* [The Hague Mercury, including complete and most noteworthy accounts of all Europe], printed by Christianus Calaminus in 1656–1658. This newspaper too

may see the Present Estate of her Provinces, and Conjecture what these Troubles and Wars may Produce etc. These and other examples are discussed in, e.g., Nicholas Brownlees, 'Narrating Contemporaneity: Text and Structure in English News', in Brendan Dooley (ed.), *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 225–250, at pp. 231–241.

4 Ingrid Maier and René Vos, 'Van oude couranten de dingen die opduiken: Nieuw licht op de Haagse pers in de zeventiende eeuw', in *Jaarboek Die Haghe* (The Hague: Geschiedkundige Vereniging Die Haghe, 2004), pp. 10–35, at p. 28.

5 'Europisch' and 'Europische' are old Dutch adjectives for European; the modern Dutch variants are 'Europees' and 'Europese'.

6 Otto Lankhorst, 'Newspapers in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century', in Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron (eds.), *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 151–159, at p. 152.

7 Rammazeyn was an Orangist while the anti-Orangist regents were in power at the time. I am grateful to Rietje van Vliet for inspection in several entries of the *Encyclopedie Nederlandstalige tijdschriften (ENT)*—forthcoming, see <http://ent1815.wordpress.com/> (consulted 3 May 2015)—in this case her entry 'Wekelycke Mercurius (1654)'.

had a rather short life. It was suppressed after its editor, Gerard Lodewijk van der Maght, had published false news. For this he was banished from Holland for ten years.⁸

During the next decade Van der Maght continued his editorial activities in the city of Utrecht, composing the columns of the *Ordinaire Donderdaeghse Europische Courant* [Ordinary Thursday European Coranto] between 1660 and 1667 under a false name. This was not much help to him, as his Utrecht title was also censored for reporting erroneous news.⁹ Meanwhile, in 1656, the Haarlem editor Abraham Casteleyn had started the *Weekelycke* [weekly] *courante van Europa*. After a few years, however, he had to change the title when he began putting out a second number per week. Casteleyn's new titles included the name of his city, becoming *Haerlemse Dingsdaegse* [Tuesday] *Courant* and *Haerlemse Saterdaegse* [Saturday] *Courant*. This newspaper became one of the leading titles in the Dutch Republic and was read all over Europe, in Dutch as well as in several translations.¹⁰

All the above-mentioned Dutch newspapers with 'Europe' or 'European' in their titles were either relatively short-lived, or shed them after a short period. Nonetheless, they demonstrate that Dutch publishers expected titles including the words 'Europe' and 'European' to be commercially attractive. Otherwise they would not have copied earlier titles or made variations, as in the 1690 case of the Amsterdam *Europische Mercurius*. This long-running news periodical, which existed until 1756, putting out about 300 pages in quarto every six months, probably derived its title from the German magazine *Europäischer Mercurius, oder Götterboth* of 1689. The Amsterdam publisher Timotheus ten Hoorn started his Dutch *Europische Mercurius* in the same year as the English author John Philips began his monthly review *The Present State of Europe, or a Historical and Political Mercury*.¹¹ We may thus conclude that Europe was in

8 Van der Maght (or Macht) was probably also involved in the *Weekelycke Mercurius etc.* Maier and Vos, "Van oude couranten", 25–27; Ingrid Maier, 'Zur Frühgeschichte der Haager Zeitungen', *Quaerendo* 34 (2004), pp. 87–133, at pp. 113–129.

9 From the last mentioned title only a few copies have survived. Gerrit Albert Evers, 'De Utrechtse "Nieuwstijding" "Mercurius" en "Europische Courant"', *De Tampon* 20 (1940), pp. 1–17, at pp. 5–12.

10 From 1662 the word 'Oprechte' (sincere) preceded these titles, which meant that this was the only officially excepted newspaper from the city of Haarlem. Ingrid Maier and René Vos, 'Gelezen van Londen tot Moskou: Internationale dimensies van de *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* in de zeventiende eeuw', in *Haarlem/Jaarboek 2005* (Haarlem: Historische Vereniging Haarlem, 2006), pp. 9–33, at pp. 10, 14–16.

11 About the *Europische Mercurius*, see, e.g., the literature mentioned in my article 'Storehouses of news: The Meaning of Early Modern News Periodicals in Western Europe', in Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond and Jeroen Salman (eds.), *Not Dead Things: The Dissemina-*

the publishers' and editors' minds towards the end of the century. In 1692–1702 'Europe' was also part of the title of Pieter Rabus' scholarly periodical *De boekzaal van* [The library of] *Europe*, further evidence that publishers presumed that the continent's name represented a strong selling point.¹²

At the end of the seventeenth century the use of 'Europe' or 'European' seems to have become more common in news periodicals' titles than in newspapers' titles. This is not surprising when we consider that far more newspapers than news periodicals existed. Thus greater variety was needed in the first category's titles to distinguish them from each other. During the next century 'Europe(an)' would be mainly included in new Dutch news periodicals' titles, such as *'t Ontroerd' Europa* [Disturbed Europe]. According to the only surviving issue of this periodical, predominantly containing war news from Italy, France, England, Poland and the Netherlands, it would become a weekly that would have been bound every month.¹³ Examples of long-running eighteenth-century titles are the monthly news periodicals *De Europische staats-secretaris* [state secretary] (1741–c. 1784), its successor *De nieuwe Europische staats-secretaris* (c. 1785–1806),¹⁴ and *Het verward* [The confused] *Europa* (1742–1745), which appeared every two months. The main topic of this last was the War of the Austrian Succession, an international conflict in which the most important European countries were involved.¹⁵ A final interesting example is the anti-Orangist *Courier van Europa* (1783–1785), which appeared during the struggle between Orangists and their opponents who were called Patriots. This maga-

tion of Popular Print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500–1820 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 253–273, at pp. 262 and 268; about the *Europäischer Mercurius*: Johannes Weber, *Götter-Both Mercurius: Die Urgeschichte der politischen Zeitschrift in Deutschland* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1994), pp. 125–139.

- 12 Peter Rietbergen, 'Pieter Rabus en de Boekzaal van Europe', in Hans Bots (ed.), *Pieter Rabus en de Boekzaal van Europe 1692–1702* (Amsterdam: Holland University Press, 1974), pp. 1–109; Jan J.V.M. de Vet, *Pieter Rabus (1660–1702)* (Amsterdam and Maarssen: Holland University Press, 1980), pp. 122–144 and *passim*. See also the site 'Early Enlightenment in a Rotterdam Periodical 1692–1704' www.eerp.nl/ (consulted 3 May 2015). An eighteenth century scholarly periodical with 'Europe' in the title was *Uitgezogte verhandelingen uit de nieuwste werken van de Societeiten der Weetenschappen in Europa en van andere geleerde mannen* [Selected treatises from the latest works of the Academic Societies in Europe and other scholars; 1755–1765]. Rietje van Vliet's entry 'Uitgezogte verhandelingen (1755–1765)', to be published in *ENT*.
- 13 André Hanou's entry 't Ontroerd Europa (1701)', to be published in *ENT*.
- 14 The first was printed in Haarlem, by Izaak and Johannes Enschedé who also printed the *Oprechte Haerlems[ch]e Courant* from 1737; the second in Amsterdam by Dirk Swart and Isaak Scholten.
- 15 Published in Haarlem by Jan van Lee. Only the short title is given here. See André Hanou's entry 'Verward Europa (1742–1745)', to be published in *ENT*.

zine was filled with observations about domestic and international politics of the time, written by Willem van Irhoven van Dam, an anti-Orangist. Thus this was not so much a news periodical as a periodical series of personal reflections on the news.¹⁶

The early modern newspapers and periodicals with ‘Europe’ or ‘European’ in their titles were only a small part in the long list of early modern Dutch news media. This indicates that they reached a marginal section of the reading public. It would therefore be unwise to over-estimate their contribution to the creation of a sense of Europe in the Dutch Republic. Their role in this has to be combined with other considerations relevant to all titles.

2 Argument Two: Europe in Dutch Newspapers’ Content

The words ‘Europe’ and ‘European’ could of course also be found in the contents of news media, regardless of whether they featured the terms in their titles. Subsequent questions might be, first how often, and second in which contexts and in what sense news editors used ‘Europe(an)’ in their news accounts. Unfortunately the first question is impossible to answer satisfactorily. Useful statistical information cannot be easily generated as many early modern Dutch series of news media are incomplete—in particular those of the seventeenth century—and not all available issues have yet been digitised, and the numbers of digitised pages or words in those copies that have been is unknown.

Nevertheless, it is tempting to give a rough impression based on the 85,069 individual issues of early newspapers digitised by the Dutch Royal Library (Koninklijke Bibliotheek) as of October 2013.¹⁷ A text retrieval with the Dutch designation ‘Europa’ leads to the conclusion that newspapers’ editors rarely used this word in the digitised copies prior to 1660 (see Table 4). Yet we have to keep in mind that few newspapers existed in that period, and that the number of newspapers, their printed copies and their issues per week would steadily increase thereafter. Over the next two decades, 1660–1680, the figures

16 Peet Theeuwen, ‘Kringen rond een patriots intellectueel: Willem van Irhoven van Dam en zijn “Courier van Europa” (1783–1785)’, in Hans Bots and Sophie Levie (eds.), *Periodieken en hun kringen: Een verkenning van tijdschriften en netwerken in de laatste drie eeuwen* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2006), pp. 129–147. Other eighteenth-century examples are: *De Europische reiziger: of de geest der nieuwstydingen* [The European Traveller: or the Spirit of News Tidings] (1777), *De Post van Europa* (1782), *Europa op het einde der agttiende eeuw* [Europe at the End of the Eighteenth Century] (1790) and *Dagboek van* [Diary of] *Europa* (1792–1793). See André Hanou’s entries, to be published in *ENT*.

17 www.delpher.nl (consulted 31 October 2013). Previously at kranten.kb.nl.

TABLE 4 Frequency of the word ‘Europa’ in the Dutch newspapers’ copies digitised by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library) in The Hague, The Netherlands, compared with the frequency of the word ‘Portugal’ (also spelled as ‘Portugael’ and ‘Portugaal’), a country that was far less in the news than all the neighbouring countries of the Dutch Republic

Seventeenth century				Eighteenth century			
Years	Digitised copies	Europa	Portugal	Years	Digitised copies	Europa	Portugal
<i>Dutch printed newspapers start in 1618</i>				1700–1709	4260	417	2700
1618–1619	11	0	0	1710–1719	2392	248	1238
1620–1629	184	1	2	1720–1729	5583	1083	2578
1630–1639	123	1	0	1730–1739	5931	1598	2670
1640–1649	618	1	2	1740–1749	6536	2780	1517
1650–1659	166	2	0	1750–1759	6362	1860	1910
1660–1669	696	12	273	1760–1769	8936	2308	2363
1670–1679	2112	53	451	1770–1779	9482	2885	1513
1680–1689	1395	212	352	1780–1789	12151	4731	1234
1690–1699	2747	190	836	1790–1799	15384	4862	1192
total	8052	472	1916	total	77017	22772	18915

increase to several dozen, between 1680 and 1720 to a few hundred and later to many thousand. One conclusion that can reliably be derived from these figures is that Dutch newspapers’ readers were occasionally confronted with the name of their continent. We should also be aware that as well as featuring the noun ‘Europe’, these papers also frequently contained the Dutch variants for ‘European’. A text search for such adjectives ‘Europe(e)s(e)’, ‘Euroops(e)’ and ‘Europisch(e)’ also results in many hits. Thus Dutch readers were confronted with words denoting or connoting Europe in their newspapers far more often than Table 4 suggests. Nevertheless, searches for England or France indicate that ‘Europe’ appeared in Dutch news media far less than the names of important European powers of the time. Hence the results for ‘Europa’ are put into perspective in Table 4 by comparing them with those of Portugal, a less newsworthy state in Dutch media reports.¹⁸

18 Total figures for the Dutch variants for England, ‘Engeland’ and ‘Engelant’, seventeenth century: 4,914; and eighteenth century: 49,002. This text retrieval should be broadened

Although the above results are not very impressive, they prove that Europe was visibly present in the newspapers. In what context, and with what meaning, was the word used in the news? It is not surprising that the geographical notion of Europe as a continent was the most common meaning.¹⁹ There are many references to Europe in news items about trade and travel between this continent and other parts of the world, or about merchant vessels in European harbours. During the first Anglo-Dutch War, for example, the Dutch States-General ordered all Dutch shippers not to enter ports under English control “in and outside Europe” to avoid their ships’ being confiscated.²⁰

Europe as a geographical entity was even more frequently mentioned in news reports about international politics, in which editors summarised the state of affairs in Europe, its major powers, states, princes, courts, wars, treaties and so on. On 11 October 1672, for instance, an Amsterdam newspaper reported a message from Paris expressing the expectation that if “the troubles of Europe” were to continue, one or more German electors would be deposed and replaced.²¹ The idea of a European balance of power was reflected in an account from Italy, included in the Haarlem newspaper of 5 December 1673, which mentioned the Papal Court’s wish “also gaerne soude sien, dat Spangie den Staet van Europa soude balanceren, ende de grootsheyt van Vrankrijck wat vermindere[n]” (“that Spain would balance the state of Europe, and diminish France’s grandeur a bit”). On the other hand, according to a letter from a French archbishop, sent to the pope and summarised in in the Haarlem newspaper on 1 April 1681, the phrase “dat in Europa niet een Prins is, die hem [i.e. ‘den Turck’]

with all Dutch variants of Great Britain. Figures for only the variant ‘Groot Brittannien’, seventeenth century: 532; and eighteenth century: 25,656. Total figures for the Dutch variants for France, ‘Vran(c)kry(c)k’, ‘Vranckrij(c)k’, ‘Franckry(c)k’ and ‘Frankrijk’, seventeenth century: 785; and eighteenth century: 122,034. The results of OCR technique are not 100% thrustworthy, therefore all these figures have to be considered as approximations. www.delpher.nl (consulted 4 November 2013).

- 19 For reasons of feasibility the text retrieval is restricted to the noun ‘Europe’ in the digitised seventeenth-century Dutch newspapers. A few samples in eighteenth-century copies do not give rise to the idea that ‘Europe’ had developed different meanings from those found in seventeenth-century newspapers, in contrast to today when ‘Europe’ has become, e.g., a synonym of the European Union.
- 20 *Ordinaris dingsdaeghse* [Tuesday] *Courante*, 6 August 1652. See also, e.g.: *Haerlemse Courant*, 26 March 1661; *Ordinarisse middel-weeckse Courante*, 5 December 1662; *Amsterdamse Courant* (AC), 18 July 1686. Newspaper editions are not repeated in footnotes when they or the discussed news items are mentioned in the main text.
- 21 In Dutch: “Men seght dat soo de Troebelen van Europa soudén mogen continueren, wel eenig Keur-Vorst soude werden ghecasseert, en een ander Prins in sijn plaets werden ghestelt.”

kan tegen staen, als alleen de Macht der Franssen" appeared ("only the Power of the French could resist the Turk[s] in Europe"). In August 1684 peace "across the whole of Europe" was expected in letters summarised by the Amsterdam newspaper editor, as soon as the king of France accepted the same conditions to which his Spanish counterpart had agreed.²²

Furthermore, Europe was considered a unified geographical entity in a handful of news accounts emanating from the continent's periphery. For instance, an excerpt of a letter from Persia was published on the 4 June 1669 Haarlem newspaper, stating that "Men verwacht hier de voornaemste Tijdinghen uyt Europa" ("the most important tidings from Europe were expected"). In another example, a message from Smyrna (now Izmir) in Turkey in Amsterdam newspaper of 1 March 1674 begins with the sentence: "De groote Oorlogen van de Christenvorsten in Europa, veroorsaken hier seer slappe Negotie" ("The great wars of the Christian princes in Europe cause a very weak trade here").²³ It is interesting to notice that the report speaks about Christian European princes, probably in order to draw a contrast with the Islamic Ottoman Sultan, who ranked himself as one of Europe's princes. The Turkish war declaration against the King of Poland, for instance, published in the 15th March 1621 issue of the *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren* [Tidings from various quarters] starts with a list of some of the Sultan's many titles, one of which in particular must have been rather confronting for the Dutch readers: "Regeerder van 't gantsche Christenrijk ende Europa" ("Governor of the whole Christian empire and Europe").

'Europe' also appeared in its geographical sense in contexts having to do with persuasion and comparison. A news item of 2 September 1673 in the Haarlem newspaper states that new fortifications would make Turin one of the most beautiful cities in Europe. Such a comparison sounded, of course, more impressive than a comparison limited to other Italian cities. This is also the case with a news report in the Amsterdam newspaper of 27 March 1692 suggesting that the Duke of Savoy would have been Europe's happiest prince had he not started the war.²⁴

Europe as a geographical entity was also used in a great number of advertisements for books and periodicals about Europe's history or its state of affairs. An

22 In Dutch: "soo dat men niet en twyfelt of den Koninck van Vrankryck sal dese conditien mede acceptteeren, en dan staet men door geheel Europa in korte eenene Generaelen vrede te hebben." *AC*, 3 August 1684. See also, e.g.: *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* (*OHC*), 16 January 1672, 7 April 1672, 28 May 1672, 10 October 1673, 26 September 1675, 7 June 1678 and 3 July 1688; *Utrechtse Courant*, 23 April 1691; *AC*, 9 November 1683, 8 June 1690 and 22 November 1692; *Opregte Leydse Courant* (*OLEyC*), 25 April 1698.

23 See also, e.g.: *AC*, 14 September 1688; *OLEyC*, 21 March 1698.

24 See also, e.g.: *OHC*, 23 June 1663 and 31 January 1696.

early example can be found in the 30 March 1630 issue of the *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt &c* in which the 17th volume of Nicolaas Jansz van Wassenauer's history of Europe and other parts of the world was announced.²⁵ An advertisement concerning a periodical is Jan Bouman's announcement for *De reysende Mercurius verhandelende de hedendaegsche en onlangs tegenwoordige staet en verrichtingen van Europa* [The travelling Mercury treating the contemporary and earlier state and activities of Europe], published on 22 December 1674 in the Amsterdam newspaper.²⁶ Such advertisements remind us that a market existed for publications concerning Europe as a whole.

Finally, a very distinctive—and non-geographical—meaning of Europe in early modern Dutch newspapers concerns reports about ships bearing the name of 'Europa' or 'Nieuw Europa'. Several ships of the Dutch East India Company bore these names, a few Dutch slave trade ships going to the West Indies were christened 'Europa', and the Haarlem newspaper's issue of 4th December 1677 also mentions a French ship called 'Europa'. All these ships generated many news items about their movements between harbours and sometimes about their cargoes.²⁷ Such ships popularised the idea of Europe as one continent directly through their names and indirectly through their movements both in and outside Europe. As the newspapers included only neutral facts about them, news items about ships called 'Europa' can be considered as an unintended consequence of the popularisation of the idea of Europe.

3 Argument Three: News about Europe in a Eurocentric Layout

From the beginning Dutch printed news media included information from all corners of Europe. In other words, they created a sense of Europe because most of the news reports dealt with European affairs. Due to distance and the

25 The advertisement in Dutch: "Dese weke is uytghegheven by Ian Iansz het 17. Gedeelte, oft Vervolgh van het historisch Verhael aller Ghedenckwaerdig Gheschiedenissen, soo in Europa, Asia, etc. voorghefallen zijn; Beschreven door Nicolaes à Wassenauer".

26 See also, e.g.: *OHC*, 2 August 1667, 22 January 1675, 23 May 1675, 3 January 1682, 6 January, 13 and 20 April, and 24 February 1688, 1 March 1689; *AC*, 30 December 1677, 29 March 1691, 10 April and 21 October 1692, and 3 May 1698.

27 See, e.g.: *OHC*, 2 August 1667, 22 October 1669, 3 March 1671, 18 April 1673, 4 December 1677; *AC*, 21 October 1673, 1 May 1677, 21 December 1686. See for the voyages of the Dutch East India Company ship Europa the website 'Dutch Asiatic shipping in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DAS/ and for slave trade ships with the name Europa the website <http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces> (consulted 3 May 2015).

lack of regular communication, information about other parts of the world would remain scarce until the nineteenth century. Furthermore, news from outside Europe was mainly restricted to areas in which European colonies and trade posts were situated or where Europeans were involved in warfare. Dutch news media had, in addition, a distinctly European character, as domestic news occupied relatively little space in the news columns before the second half of the eighteenth century. Most local news was still orally dispersed, since oral transmission remained more efficient than print publication until the dailies came into existence. Furthermore, domestic news was mostly restricted to government documents, announcements and politically uncontroversial messages, as Dutch news editors tried to avoid censorship. Therefore, news from abroad, from other European countries, dominated the Dutch news media.²⁸ All accounts on foreign topics must have expanded the average Dutch readers' knowledge of their continent immensely.

The layout of most early modern Dutch newspapers and periodicals enhanced the sense of Europe in the news. From around 1650 readers' attention was drawn to reports published under the headings of European state names. In 1656 the Haarlem editor Abraham Casteleyn adopted this practice in his *Weeckelycke Courante van Europa*. Other Dutch newspapers began to follow suit from around 1662.²⁹ This also serves to explain why the names of individual countries, such as Germany, France and England—or Great Britain from 1707—occurred much more frequently in the news media than the continental name of Europe since the 1660s. Most of the time editors opened their publications with news from the countries geographically furthest from the Dutch Republic, typically moving on to states closer to home and ending with domestic reports under the heading 'Nederlanden' [the Netherlands], very often on the back page. There would be one or more news items under each heading, usually in chronological order and starting with a dateline consisting of the news item's city and date of origin. The Friday 10 April 1750 issue of the *Opregte Groninger Courant* [Sincere Groningen Newspaper] can be considered typical of Dutch early modern newspapers (see Figures 21 and 22). This issue opens

28 Marcel Broersma, 'Constructing public opinion: Dutch newspapers on the eve of a revolution (1780–1795)', in Joop W. Koopmans (ed.), *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Leuven, Paris and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2005), pp. 219–235, at p. 223.

29 Before the 1660s news items mostly appeared under the headings of city names. The 26 August 1656 *Weeckelycke Courante van Europa* is the first digitised issue with states as headings. www.delpher.nl (consulted 5 November 2013). The 1752 starting *Leeuwarder Courant* would be the first Dutch newspaper with a thematic approach, by making sections such as 'state news', 'trade', 'church news' and 'accidents'.



FIGURE 21 Front page of the Friday 10 April 1750 issue of the *Opregte Groninger Courant*, with news under the headings of Turkey, Poland and Prussia, Spain, Italy, Denmark, Great Britain and France

UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN LIBRARY, THE NETHERLANDS (PHOTOGRAPH DIRK FENNEMA, HAREN, THE NETHERLANDS)

with news from Turkey on 18 February and ends with a message from Groningen of 9 April. The system could be changed, however, to allow for late-breaking news reports. These would be published under the heading 'Netherlands' and with a dateline starting with the name of the newspaper's city.

This model of layout may have stimulated Dutch newspaper readers to start with foreign news, assuming they began with the first or front page (though this remains necessarily uncertain). At all events, readers became gradually more aware of Europe's map, the distances between the Dutch Republic and other European countries, and geographical changes caused by international politics. For example Dutch newspapers began using the heading 'Great Britain' rather than 'England' after the 1707 Act of Union between England and Scotland.³⁰

News periodicals such as the 1690 *Europische Mercurius* and the 1756 *De maandelykse Nederlandsche Mercurius* [The Monthly Dutch Mercury] intensified the European character of Dutch news media by following a similar form of geographical sequencing of items as the newspapers. Although Europe featured in the latter periodical's subtitle as a news area, it is significant that its first volume's monthly sections began with a few news items under the headings of other continents ('Azia', 'Noord America', 'Africa'), followed by the heading of 'Europa', under which heading, it should be noted, Turkey is the first European country to be mentioned.³¹ The layout of the eighteenth-century periodical confirms the idea that Europe and Christianity could no longer be considered as synonyms by that time.

4 Argument Four: the Presence of Europe in News Prints

Europe as a continent was not only present in the texts of early modern news media, but could also be found in news prints that referred to European news topics. Such prints could be published and sold separately as well as included in news periodicals or pamphlets with a production schedule that was long enough to accommodate them, thus not in newspapers with a short periodicity. These prints share of the overall news market was modest; nevertheless, they should not be altogether left out of this discussion of the sense of Europe in Dutch news media. News prints making reference to European news top-

³⁰ See, e.g.: *OHC*, 21 and 23 June 1707; *OLeyC*, 20 and 25 June 1707.

³¹ *De maandelykse Nederlandsche Mercurius, geevende een volledig bericht van alles, wat 'er aanmerkenswaardig ieder maand, in Europa is voorgevallen* [The Dutch Monthly Mercury Giving a Complete Report of All Important Events in Europe], no. 1 (1756).

ics undoubtedly intensified a sense of Europe by making those subjects, such as wars and peace, more concrete or understandable. News prints had similar functions as today's photographs in news media. They would attract and inform readers by representing people, buildings, statues, events and everything else that could be sketched. They would also reflect contemporary societal ideas and views.

However, in contrast with news photographs, early modern news illustrations—in the form of woodcuts or engravings—were, by definition, artists' impressions, merging facts and fiction.³² This could be the result of ignorance, or a deliberate way of achieving a particular effect: a simplification of the actual circumstances, for instance, or the presentation of a series of news events in a single picture. The use of symbols and allegorical figures derived from Europe's ancient past was very common. In many news prints Mars and Pax figured as simple allegories indicating the state of European or local affairs, or to supply a readily graspable context for peace negotiations. Such allegorical representations may be considered as typical products of European culture, easily understood by an educated contemporary audience. News prints were not subject to language barriers, apart from specific plays upon words. Yet even when vernacular phrases were included, many Europeans got the message. Other artistic forms, such as paintings and sculptures, stimulated this general European understanding, since they used the same visual language.³³

Within the context of this chapter the mythological Princess Europa is the most important such figure, since she gives rise to the Continent's name. Her kidnapping by Zeus in the guise of a bull and her removal to Crete inspired artists throughout European history in a variety of genres.³⁴ The frontispieces with Princess Europa and Zeus in the above-mentioned *Europische Mercurius* belong to the most prominent Dutch examples in the field of news prints. Princess Europa and also Mercury, the messenger of the gods, are present in most of the periodical's frontispieces, which feature news topics from the corresponding volume.

32 A comparison between today's cartoons and early modern news prints is also possible considering the fact that both genres are drawings. In cartoons, however, the role of irony is central.

33 See, e.g., Joop W. Koopmans, 'Politics in Title Prints: Examples from the Dutch News Book *Europische Mercurius* (1690–1756)', in Martin Gosman and Joop W. Koopmans, *Selling and Rejecting Politics in Early Modern Europe* (Leuven, Paris and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2007), pp. 135–149, at pp. 135–140 (including bibliographical references).

34 Many examples can be found in Michael Wintle, *The Image of Europe: Visualizing Europe in Cartography and Iconography throughout the Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Utrecht, or, more precisely, the series of peace treaties that ended the War of the Spanish Succession, in which many European countries had been involved since 1701. France would sign separate agreements with, respectively, Great Britain, the Dutch Republic, Savoy, Prussia and Portugal in the Dutch city of Utrecht on 11 April 1713.

The print, however, does not show diplomats who are signing treaties. The central figure is Pax, who treads on the laurels of war heroes. She delivers the horn of plenty to Princess Europa, sitting on a bull whose head is visible. Pax's dress has pegs and eyelets, in reference to the Dutch saying 'haken en ogen' meaning problems; in this case surely a reference to the difficulties of the peace negotiations. The goddess Minerva, still wearing a war helmet, warns Princess Europa that the peace is unstable and may soon be broken. The figure of Time, with the traditional hourglass on his head and scythe in hand, illustrates the fragility of the situation. Near the sea god Neptune's a nymph floats quietly, symbolizing Great Britain. The eagle, on the other hand, holds a military baton, symbolizing the German Emperor whose campaigns against France were ongoing.

In the meantime Mercury—the figure with a winged hat and a caduceus—travels to other countries to catch new messages. The rising sun illustrates hope, while the Tower of Babel and PHEME stand for uncertainty about the duration of the peace. PHEME shows her doubts by trumpeting a biblical reference, 1 Thessalonians 5:3 ("For when they are saying, 'Peace and safety,' then sudden destruction will come on them, like birth pains on a pregnant woman; and they will in no way escape."), in mirror image.³⁶ In front of her two other female figures hold a box that may contain the peace treaties; they support a building inscribed with the Latin words "*pacis alumnia quies populi concordia nutrix*" (rest is the child of peace [and] the population's harmony is its foster mother). The reference to a bible verse and the use of a Latin quote are also characteristic examples of European cultural expressions of the time, next to all mythological figures.

In 1738 the *Europische Mercurius* would include another title print of Pax and the Peace of Utrecht, in celebration of twenty-five years of peace in the Dutch Republic.³⁷ However, the next European war—the War of the Austrian Succession—followed soon after, producing prints of news events that would become the next part of a shared European past.

in de *Europische Mercurius* (1713, 1718, 1719 en 1727), *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 26/2 (2003), pp. 73–90, at pp. 73–81.

36 Quote from *World English Bible* (2002), <http://ebible.org/> (consulted 3 May 2015).

37 See also David Onnekink and Renger de Bruin, *De Vrede van Utrecht (1713)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), pp. 101–105.

5 Conclusion

This chapter shows that early modern printed news media stimulated a sense of Europe in the Dutch Republic, though mostly implicitly and not necessarily on purpose. Nonetheless, news media surely helped to shape Europe as a reality, particularly in the minds of its inhabitants who did not or could not see other parts of the continent with their own eyes. By presenting and structuring European affairs in pieces of news, and positioning or explaining them in a European context they also created a European audience, one admittedly divided by wars, religious controversies and conflicts, yet possessing certain shared interests, aims and expectations. Dutch news editors translated and adapted foreign news letters and newspaper items, presenting Dutch news readers much the same news as was available to people abroad. Furthermore, Dutch media did not only affect the Dutch reading population but also other parts of Europe as they were translated and read elsewhere. The need for news stimulated and intensified news networks across Europe, making a European news market.

Four coherent arguments have been discussed to reflect on the questions how early modern Dutch news media may have contributed to the creation of a sense of Europe, and in which ways they made the idea of Europe more familiar to their readers. The first two of them dealt with the use of the words 'Europe' or 'European' in titles of news media and media's content. They can be considered as indications that the notion of Europe was indeed current. The third argument demonstrated that news media mostly offered European through particular geographical configurations of layout. This was visible in most issues of most newspapers, as well as in many news periodicals. This last argument is the most important. Finally, I have shown how Europe was also present through visual language, by using European symbols and figures in news prints. Considering all four arguments together adds resonance to Aristotle's phrase, 'the whole is greater than the sum of its parts'. This ancient Greek axiom may be considered as the fifth argument to show how, from news about Europe's internal conflicts, a unified sense of Europe emerged in the early modern period.

Supply and Speed of Foreign News to the Netherlands during the Eighteenth Century: a Comparison of Newspapers in Haarlem and Groningen*

For several weeks during early 1750, readers of the Haarlem newspaper the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* [Sincere Haarlem Newspaper] were deprived of news from Italy. The publisher wrote a short apology note: heavy snowfall and poor road conditions had hindered delivery of mail from Venice.¹ His unusual note highlighted one of the most vulnerable aspects of the dissemination of news in early modern Europe. Unlike today, newspaper publishers depended entirely on operational mail delivery services for news that was not regional. Poor weather, war and other exceptional conditions easily affected these services. Until the invention of the telegraph at the end of the eighteenth century, newspaper publishers received their correspondents' newsletters and the newspapers from which they gleaned their information at the speed of horses, coaches, horse-drawn barges and sailing vessels.² Compared to today's newspapers, such sources were filled to the brim with old and outdated information.

Early modern publishers, however, were also in competition for news dating back weeks or even months. This is demonstrated by Jacob Sipkes' request to publish a newspaper in the city of Groningen, submitted during the last months of 1742. This Groningen printer hoped to gain a head start on the Holland newspapers by copying articles from German newspapers that were delivered straight to his town. He expected to be able to inform his fellow citizens about many events a few days earlier than was possible using the Holland detour. The Groningen magistrate granted approval. On 4 January 1743 the first northern

* This article was earlier published in Joop W. (ed.), *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Leuven, Paris, Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2005), pp. 185–202.

1 *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* (OHaC), 17 January 1750.

2 A messenger could travel about one hundred kilometres a day. Bart P. Tammeling, *De krant bekeken: De geschiedenis van de dagbladen in Groningen en Drenthe* (Groningen: Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, 1988), p. 22. A message sent from Lille through a chain of telegraphs reached Paris in a few minutes for the first time in 1794. In 1800, the *Groninger Courant* (GroC) still found use of this medium worthy of mention. See e.g. *GroC*, 14 February 1800 and 13 May 1800.

newspaper was published in the Dutch Republic. From June 1748, it was called the *Oprechte Groninger Courant* [Sincere Groningen Paper].³

In the historical debate on the interaction between politics, public opinion and news services in early modern Europe, the dissemination of news messages is a defining theme. Such themes force historians to ask themselves what information could be available when and where. The slow pace of news distribution at the time hardly allowed comprehensive reactions to events that occurred simultaneously in different parts of the world. Princes and other authorities became aware of such events only after some time. Often their decisions were overtaken by reality. However, during wars, the change of seasons provided princes and their advisors with more periods of quiet than nowadays. Throughout a major part of Europe, it was nearly impossible to wage war during the winter. On the basis of the current state of affairs, new expeditions could be prepared in utter calm or negotiations started. This aspect alone made the nature of political and military decision-making different from today.

This essay focuses on the amount of time it took for messages from abroad to reach eighteenth-century Dutch newspapers and from what places they originated. These questions are linked to the more global question of the number of foreign news items that the Dutch papers published. Using this information, the political and other effects of the slow dissemination of news in early modern Europe are discussed. To gauge the speed at which international news arrived during the eighteenth-century Republic, the 1750 series of two Dutch newspapers are compared:⁴ the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* and the *Oprechte Groninger Courant*. The Haarlem paper was published in the western part of the Republic. Compared to the Groningen paper, it could benefit from short mail connections with the British Isles and the Southern Netherlands. The Groningen paper, published in the north-eastern part of the Republic, a few hundred kilometres from Haarlem, could access news from the northern German territories and all the nations located beyond them before the Haarlem paper. This raises the intriguing question of whether the Groningen publisher Sipkes, after

3 The first issue was named *Geotrojeerde Groninger Courant* [Licensed Groningen Paper] and later ones (before June 1748) were titled *Oprechte Nieuwe Groninger Courant* [Sincere New Groningen Paper]. The adjective *Oprechte* disappeared from the title in 1778. See Copius Hoitsema, *De drukkersgeslachten Sipkes-Hoitsema en de Groninger Courant* (Groningen: Verenigde Drukkerijen Hoitsema, 1953), pp. 80–84; Tammeling, *De krant bekeken*, pp. 20–22.

4 Daniel Woolf defines speed as ‘the slow rate at which people learned of remote events, a velocity that increased in inverse proportion to their geographical distance from the event itself’, see his article, ‘News, History and the Construction of the Present in Early Modern England’, in Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron (eds.), *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 80–118, at p. 82.

publishing his paper for seven years, had succeeded in supplying his readership with some of the news from Europe before the Holland papers. The time perspective is widened by comparing the 1700 series of the Haarlem paper with the 1800 series of the Groningen paper. The research used complete series to record potential irregularities.

1 Two Dutch Newspapers and the Origin of Their News

Halfway through the century, around ten Dutch-language newspapers published more than one issue per week in the Republic.⁵ The Haarlem paper was already 94 years old in 1750, which made it one of the oldest newspapers. It published three issues of two densely printed pages per week, on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays.⁶ Its one-time publisher, the Enschedé Company, had acquired significant experience and a network of correspondents that operated well.⁷ Although most items reached Haarlem by way of Amsterdam, the Haarlem paper offered the same news before its nearest competitor, the *Amsterdamsche Courant* [Amsterdam Newspaper]. The Haarlem paper also served readers abroad. In 1742, more than half its average circulation of 4,300 copies went to Amsterdam distributor Nicolaas Potgieter, who also made substantial news contributions.⁸

In 1750, the *Opregte Groninger Courant* had existed for only seven years. It was published on Tuesdays and Fridays.⁹ In 1778, the publisher shortened

5 Cities in Holland that already had their own papers before 1750—with or without interruption—included Amsterdam, Delft, Haarlem, The Hague, Rotterdam and Leiden. Cities outside Holland included Arnhem, Utrecht and Groningen. Leeuwarden followed in 1752. Cf. Otto S. Lankhorst, 'Newspapers in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century', in Dooley and Baron (eds.), *The Politics of Information*, pp. 151–159, at p. 152; Maarten Schneider (and Joan Hemels), *De Nederlandse krant 1618–1978: Van 'nieuwstydinghe' tot dagblad* (Baarn: Het Wereldvenster, 1979), pp. 46–54.

6 Church festivals could disturb this pattern. The Thursday issue of 7 May 1750, for example, was published on Wednesday 6, because of Ascension Day.

7 On *OHaC*, see Dirk H. Couvée, 'The Administration of the "Oprechte Haarlemse Courant" 1738–1742', *Gazette: International journal of the science of the press etc.*, 4 (1958), pp. 91–110; Willem Pieter Sautijn Kluit, 'De Haarlemsche Courant', *Handelingen en mededeelingen van de Maatschappij voor de Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (1873), pp. 3–132. In 1700 the *OHaC* was published by Abraham Casteleyn.

8 Couvée, 'The Administration', pp. 94–95, 105.

9 Hoitsema, *De drukkersgeslachten*, p. 84. In 1800 the *GroC* (published by A.S. Hoitsema) often numbered four pages because of an increase in announcements and advertisements. News items did not increase, and even decreased (see Table 5).

its title to *Groninger Courant*. The paper quickly recruited a correspondent in Altona, near Hamburg, to inform readers about ship movements in the Sound. Some years after the launch, publisher Sipkes reached a circulation estimated at 600.¹⁰ It is not known how far outside Groningen the newspaper was distributed but in 1750 it was available in Amsterdam.¹¹ Actual readership exceeded circulation figures because newspapers were forwarded and recited in the same way as pamphlets.

Advertisements and announcements excepted, the Haarlem and Groningen papers carried few, if any, items on their own towns and surroundings.¹² During the eighteenth century, urban and regional news still travelled faster by word of mouth than by newspaper. This is demonstrated by the unique 'news diary' that Jan de Boer, an inhabitant of Amsterdam, kept around 1750.¹³ In addition, publishers were careful regarding information on their own country and unwilling to risk their licences by confronting authorities with news that was politically sensitive.¹⁴ At the same time, the 1700, 1750 and 1800 series show that most national items originated from the political centre, The Hague, and that fewer originated from the trading centre, Amsterdam.¹⁵ Few other cities appear. The 1700 series of the Haarlem paper contained eighteen items on Leeuwarden. This exception may be explained by the presence of the court of the Frisian stadtholder. The 1750 issues of the Haarlem paper carried over 50 items from the Zeeland port of Zierikzee, all concerning the entry and departure of ships. We can only hypothesise about how the publishers selected the news.

The Dutch newspaper publishers classified their news items by region and tended to put the oldest on top. Logically these items originated from regions furthest from the Republic. In keeping with this logic, news columns ended

10 Tammeling, *De krant bekeken*, p. 22.

11 Starting with issue 72 of 8 September 1750, the masthead with the name of publisher Sipkes indicated that the *Opregte Groninger Courant* (OGroC) was also on sale at E. van Belkum in Amsterdam.

12 The 1800 series of GroC carried many announcements by the Francophile executive regime and Groningen municipality.

13 Jeroen Blaak, 'Informatie in een ander tijdperk: Nieuws in het dagboek van Jan de Boer (1747–1758)', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman* 25 (2002), pp. 57–69.

14 Several newspaper publishers also got into trouble by publishing sensitive foreign news. See Sautijn Kluit, 'De Haarlemsche Courant', pp. 22–36; Joop W. Koopmans, 'Dutch Censorship in Relation to Foreign Contacts (1581–1795)', in Hanno Brand (ed.), *Trade, Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange: Continuity and Change in the North Sea and the Baltic c. 1350–1750* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2005), pp. 220–237.

15 The respective number of items in OHaC 1700, OHaC 1750, OGroC 1750 and GroC 1800 is 312, 181, 75 and 76 for The Hague and 180, 161, 4 and 10 for Amsterdam.

with items gathered in the Netherlands.¹⁶ Broersma called this the 'linear time perspective in the old newspapers'.¹⁷ Classification based on states stood in the way of a fully chronological order. The 6 April 1700 issue of the Haarlem paper, for instance, opened with items from Constantinople (under the heading 'Turkey') dated 20 February, and from London (under the heading England) dated 26 and 30 March, but continued with nine items from Germany dated 24 March to 2 April and older news from 'Poland, Prussia etc' dated 21 February through 27 March. The same paper demonstrates that the classification into states was fairly vague. In the 1700 issues, for instance, items from Copenhagen and Helsingør appeared under the heading 'Germany and neighbouring states'.¹⁸ Last minute reports, quite frequent in the 1750 Haarlem paper, also ran counter to the chronological order and were put below items from the Netherlands. As a result, items from one country ended up in different locations.¹⁹ It is unlikely, however, that this bothered readers seeking to combine such messages because one copy tended to consist of one front and one back page only.

Which other countries and foreign cities were brought to the attention of the eighteenth-century readership of the Republic? Since this article discusses the supply and speed of news items, exact treatment of this issue falls outside its scope. The geographical classification of most early modern newspapers, including the Haarlem and Groningen papers, only allows for a quantification of the origins of the news. This news did not necessarily discuss information on the area of origin. Under headings such as 'Turkey', 'Italy' and 'Spain' are found

16 Under the heading 'Netherlands' the publishers classified news from both the Republic and the Southern Netherlands. Wars and other events caused political changes and led to new states and borders. The 1800 series of *GroC*, for example, did not use the overarching heading 'Netherlands' but the heading 'Bataafsche Republiek' (Batavian Republic). The publishers classified the Austrian-Dutch cities that the French had conquered in 1794 from that moment on under the heading 'France'.

17 Marcel Broersma, *Beschaafde vooruitgang: De wereld van de Leeuwarder Courant 1752–2002* (Leeuwarden: Friese Pers Boekerij, 2002), p. 68.

18 By contrast, messages from Denmark and Sweden were classified under their own names in the 1750 series of *OHaC* and the 1750 and 1800 series of (*O*)*GroC* (exceptions not taken into account). But the classification of other messages was not always correct. Messages from Strasbourg offer an example. The *OHaC* in the 1700 series classified eighteen of them under Germany and the *OGroC* of 1750 four, although the city had become part of France with the treaty of Rijswijk concluded in 1697.

19 In the 1750 series of the *OGroC*, the toponym 'Groningen' serves as a dustbin for last minute messages from various directions, some with indication of the source. See the *OGroC* issue of 4 August 1750, which contains a summary of an article in the *Amsterdamsche Courant*. In the 1800 series of the *GroC*, last minute items of diverse origins were sometimes published in a single article, without giving the dates of the news. See *GroC* of 21 October 1800, for example.

TABLE 5 News items in the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* for the years 1700 and 1750 and in the (*Opregte*) *Groninger Courant* for the years 1750 and 1800, by political region

Origin of news items	OHaC 1700		OHaC 1750		OGroC 1750		GroC 1800	
		%		%		%		%
Denmark	174	6.6	21	0.8	23	1.8	9	1.3
France	136	5.2	132	5.4	115	9.0	130	19.2
German countries	723	27.5	844	34.3	351	27.4	260	38.5
Great Britain	243	9.2	110	4.5	25	1.9	62	9.2
Italian countries	223	8.5	460	18.7	311	24.3	34	5.0
Netherlands (north)	542	20.6	482	19.6	196	15.3	132	19.6
Netherlands (south)	188	7.2	182	7.4	20	1.6	15	2.2
Ottoman empire	15	0.6	10	0.4	13	1.0	9	1.3
Poland	203	7.6	57	2.3	63	4.9	0	0
Portugal	21	0.8	15	0.6	20	1.6	0	0
Russia	7	0.3	56	2.3	48	3.7	6	0.9
Spain	91	3.5	40	1.6	38	2.9	0	0
Sweden	32	1.2	34	1.4	25	1.9	3	0.4
Switzerland	30	1.1	12	0.5	33	2.6	14	2.1
Other	3	0.1	5	0.2	1	0.1	2	0.3
TOTALS	2.631	100	2.460	100	1.282	100	676	100

items that the publishers linked to a place of origin and a date.²⁰ Dogged counting can therefore result in overviews of numbers of news items (see Tables 5 and 6) that give insight into the dissemination of news inside Europe.

Notable events define the outcomes that are ‘deviant’. The tables should therefore in part be interpreted as time slices that cannot be compared without knowledge of the period—each year will display particular news patterns. In this case we should be aware that war was being waged at both the beginning and the end of Europe’s eighteenth century. In 1700, battles were fought in the Baltic area and south of Denmark, marking the beginning of the Great Nordic War. The battles explain the high frequency in the Haarlem paper of items from Schleswig Holstein (grouped with Denmark in Table 5) and the region around

20 The first newspaper in the Republic to use thematic classification was the *Leeuwarder Courant* in its 1752 series. Broersma, *Beschaafde vooruitgang*, pp. 68–70.

TABLE 6 Numbers of items originating from the top ten foreign cities in the *Oprechte Haarlemsche Courant* of 1700 and 1750 and the (*Opregte*) *Groninger Courant* of 1750 and 1800

OHaC 1700		OHaC 1750		OGroC 1750		GrC 1800	
117	Vienna	182	Vienna	80	Vienna	108	Paris
113	Hamburg	118	Paris	64	Paris	57	London
106	London	111	Hamburg	45	St. Petersburg	45	Vienna
105	Paris	110	London	38	Madrid	35	Frankfurt
99	Cologne	104	Rome	37	Genoa	30	Augsburg
98	Brussels	100	Frankfurt	35	Rome	28	Stuttgart
98	Edinburgh	93	Cologne	32	Hamburg	19	Regensburg
93	Frankfurt	86	Brussels	32	Turin	16	Berlin
89	Copenhagen	86	Ostend	31	Leghorn (Livorno)	12	Brussels
81	Rome	85	Regensburg	31	Milan	11	Milan


Riga (grouped partly with Poland in the same table).²¹ In 1800, Napoleon's armies invaded central Europe, which resulted in additional items under the heading Germany. On Saturday 31 May, the Groningen newspaper even published an 'extra-ordinary' edition to broadcast the French victories over the Austrian troops and Napoleon's entry into Milan. The editor considered this news of victory, which was important propaganda from the perspective of the francophile Dutch executive regime, too important to keep from the readers until the Tuesday issue (see Figure 24).²²

In 1750 by contrast, there had been peace for several years and no war reports were forthcoming from any region. According to a statement that the Enschedé Company made in 1755, this 'desirable condition' along with other factors had depressed sales since 1748 when the Austrian Succession War had ended.²³

21 These items do not open with a toponym but start as follows: 'From the Danish army before Tonningen' or 'From the Polish-Saxon army in front of Riga'. The newspapers contain several such messages under the heading 'Lijfland' (Livonia). The table groups messages from Livonia under Poland, the newspapers under Poland-Prussia, Sweden, or Russia, depending on the case.

22 This issue measured 36 by 22.5 centimetres rather than the 42 by 26.5 centimetre format current in 1800. In addition, only its front page carried print.

23 Sautijn Kluit, 'De Haarlemsche Courant', p. 61. Threat of war may also have driven the launch of the Groningen paper. Tammeling, *De krant bekeken*, p. 20.

Ao. 1800. No. 1.
EXTRA-ORDINAIRE
GRONINGER COURANT.
 Saturday den 31 May.
 HET ZESDE JAAR DER BATAAFSCHE VRIJHEID.

 VRIJHEIDGELYKHED BROEDERSCHAP.
BATAAFSCHE REPUBLIEK.

GRONINGEN den 30 May, 's Avonds. Oogenbliklyk ontvangen wy de volgende officieele berichten uit 't Hage, welke aldaar, 's avonds van den 27 dezer, uit Frankryk zyn aangekomen, die wy te gewigtyg achten om onze Lezers tot onze Dingsdag seche Contant te onthouden. — Waarom wy dezelve door deeze Extra-Courant mededeelen.

LANNES, General en Chef, Commandeerende de voorhoede van 't Reserve-Leger, aan den General en Chef *Berthier*, in 't Hoofdkwartier te Aoste, den 16 May 't 8ste Jaar.

„ Wy zyn heden ochtend, ten 11 uren te Aoste binnegetrokken, met de 6de halve Brigade ligt, en de 2ste Linie Infanterie. Wy hebben den Vyand op de hoogten der Stad aangehouden. Een Bataillon van de 6de halve Brigade hadt bevel denzelve te omcingelen: hy wagte zyne beweging niet af, maar retireerde in de stad en bood slechts eenen geringen tegenstand op de brug. Hy werd met de Bafonnet overrompelt: dezelve had 12 Man dooden en een zwaar gekwetste Officier. Hy heeft ons 3 gevangen agtergelaaten. Geen der onzen werd gedood of gekwetst. (Getekend) **LANNES**.

Brief van den Chef de Bataillon Maucan, geschreeven te Aoste den 16 May.

De Divisie van den General *Watrin*, Commandeerende de voorhoede van het Reserve Leger, heeft dezelve overtoert over den Saint Bernards Berg volbragt; doch niet zonder de grootte moeylykheid uit hooft van de menigte Sneeuw; het zelve is den 15 in het Dal van Aosta nedergevald; alle Vyanden op denzelfs weg ontzettende omverwerpende; hetzelfde heeft zich ten zelve tyde van de openingen der Valey meester gemaakt. Den 16 is het Leger op de Hoofdstad gemacheerd, en binnen Aoste getrokken, den Vyand kragtich omverwerpende, welken veel dooden en eenige gekwetsten bekomen heeft, onder deze haatte is een Officier doodlyk gewond. Morgen hoopen wy onze voordeelen voort te zetten.

Brief van den eersten Consul Buonaparte, aan den Minister der Binnenlandsche Zaken Lucien Buonaparte, geschreeven te Marigny, 's avonds van den 18 May.

Ik bevinde my aan den voet der groote Alpen; in het midden van het Wallizerland. De groote St. Bernardsberg heeft verle hinderpaalen opgeleverd, welke uit dien weg geruimd zyn, een derde gedeelte van de Artillerie is in Italien; het Leger daalt kragtich neder; *Berthier* is in Piemont; binnen drie dagen zal alles voorby zyn.

Alexander Berthier, General en Chef van 't Reserve Leger, aan den Eersten Consul. In 't Hoofdkwartier te Aoste, den 19 May ten 3 uren des morgens.

„ Ik gevee U kennis, Burger-Consul, van de affaire, die pisteren avond ten 6 uren te Chatillon heeft plaats gehad.

De General *Lannes* is een uur voor het vallen van den Nacht voor Chatillon gekomen, en heeft den Vyand op alle hoogten, die hem omringen, gevonden. Hy trachte hem op te houden, in de overtuiging dat de General *Muller* tydig genoeg zoude komen om denzelven te omcingelen; doch de hindernisten welke deeze General ontmoete hadden zynen marsch vertragen. De General *Lannes* belooft tot een levendigen aanval. De Grenadiers van de 8ste halve Brigade, hebben 't Dorp met de Bafonnet veroverd, Honderd man van 't 1ste Husaren Regiment kreegen bevel om te vuuren, hebbende aan hun hoofd de Chef de Brigade *Fournier*, wiens zeldzaame overtaagtheid de grootte lof verdient; de Generaals *Watrin*, *Mainoni* en alle de Officieren van den Generaalen Staf, hebben insgelyks te zellider tyd op den vyand gelost. Wy hebben 300 gevangenen gemaakt, 100 man gedood of gekwetst; twee 4 ponders en 4 met ammunitie beladen Caissons veroverd.

Onder de gevangenen welke wy gemaakt hebben, bevinden zig vyf Officieren, waar onder twee gekwetsten; wy hebben daarenboven 12 Paarden genomen. Wy hebben slechts 5 man ligt gekwetsten, waar onder de Adjutant General *Nogues*, die alleen drie of vier Oostenrykers heeft neergezabeld.

De Adjutant General *Hollin* heeft insgelyks byzonder uitgemunt; een zynen Adjoints is gekwetst, en men heeft hem een Paard onder het lyf doodgeschooten.

De General *Watrin* is met een gedeelte van de voorhoede op meer dan de helft van den Weg van Chatillon, in 't Fort van Bard. De General *Lannes* is heden met het aanbreken van den dag, met het overtoert der Troepen, ter overmeestering van de hoogten van 't Kasteel, verrokken. Ik zal 'er my zelve bevinden, met de Artillerie, welke ik deeze nacht heb doen verrekken. (Getekend) **ALEX. BERTHIER**.

P. S. Na het aankomen van de gewoone Fransche Post, heeft men hier ontvangen de zekere ryding van de nieuwre vorderingen der Fransche Legers. — Het Oostenryksch Leger is verlagen of verftrooid. De affaire heeft aan de Boorden van den Donau plaats gehad. Uln is door de Franschen bezet, en *Buonaparte* is in Milaan binnengerukt, alwaar hem de General *Lannes* met de voorhoede van 't Reserve Leger is voorgegaan. Op Morgen verwagt men de verdere byzonderheden dezer gewigtige tyding, met het officieel Fransch Dagblad. — Men heeft reden om te vermoeden dat 'er in Milaan geene reactie zal plaats hebben, zangezien de Grooten en Edelen, na de ontruiming van Lombardien door de Franschen, zich ten opzigte der Democraten met veel moderte gedragen hebben. Slechts de Grestelykheid heeft de Franschen en de Cis-Alpynische Patriotten onophoudelyk vervolgd.

Te Groningen by **A. S. HOITSEMA** Drukker der Groninger Courant in de Oude Boteringe straat.

FIGURE 24 Extra edition of the *Groninger Courant* (31 May 1800) because of French victories on the Austrian troops and Napoleon's entry in Milan
 UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN LIBRARY, THE NETHERLANDS (PHOTOGRAPH DIRK FENNEMA, HAREN, THE NETHERLANDS)

In all years, most news items originated from the German countries which, in the view of the publishers, included the central European, non-German-speaking possessions of the Habsburgs.²⁴ Both newspapers printed the news from the politically fragmented German nation under many places of origin: nearly sixty in 1700 and around fifty in 1750 and 1800.²⁵ This may be explained in part by the fact that some German cities, such as Hamburg and Cologne, were nodes in Europe's news network. In part it may also be supposed that the publishers inserted news from German newspapers, copying the names of origin.²⁶ To a lesser extent this can also be observed with respect to other fragmented states such as Italy and the Netherlands themselves.²⁷ By contrast, nearly all items originating from France, Great Britain, Sweden and Portugal originated from their capitals.²⁸ Russian items originated mainly from Moscow and Saint Petersburg. Items from Russia—not necessarily about Russia—were scarce at the beginning of the eighteenth century, although the country participated in the Great Nordic War and the Tsar had visited the Republic shortly before. By mid-century Russia's authority in Europe had increased considerably and this change shows in the results for 1750.

Comparison of the two newspapers shows that the 1750 series of the Groningen paper contained few items on Great Britain and the Southern Netherlands. The Haarlem paper included news items from London, Brussels and Ostend with great regularity—at least twice a week—but readers of the Groningen paper had to be satisfied with only a few items per month from these cities. Did the Groningen editor find items from Great Britain and the Southern Netherlands less relevant than news from Germany, Italy and France, which he could generally access more quickly than his Haarlem colleague? Did he simply lack good contacts? In 1800, Great Britain's share of total news coverage was much larger.

24 Some cities, such as Preßburg (Bratislava) in the 1750 series of the *OGroC*, were classified in the four series that were examined under the headings of Hungary, Slavonia or Transylvania. Since there were only eight, they have been subsumed under the 'German countries'.

25 Overlap was probably limited because nearly 130 toponyms appeared under the heading Germany.

26 One should also take into account the publishers' command of foreign languages and the condition of the foreign press. Until far into the eighteenth century, for example, French newspapers were of little interest to Dutch publishers because of strict French censorship. See Robert Darnton, 'An Early Information Society: News and the Media in Eighteenth Century Paris', *American Historical Review*, 105 (2000), pp. 1–35, at pp. 4–7.

27 The four series that were examined contained 35 Italian toponyms.

28 Edinburgh and Dublin were strongly represented in the 1700 series of the *OHaC*. This was before the conclusion of the English-Scottish parliamentary union of 1707. Note that Edinburgh and Dublin were classified under the heading England.

Whatever the case, readers of the Groningen paper were at a disadvantage compared to readers of the Haarlem papers with regard to foreign news. The Groningen paper was published only twice a week and the Haarlem paper three times. To compensate for that difference, percentages are included in Table 5. The 25 items from Sweden in the Groningen paper, for instance, result in a greater share than the 34 items from that same country in the Haarlem paper. In 1800, Groningen readers were offered only half the number of foreign items that they were offered in 1750, with most 1800 items being concerned with the Republic's neighbours. Most probably, this limitation resulted from the war situation.²⁹

News from other continents was scarcely presented. The years selected contain only a few items originating directly from the 'West and East Indies'. The 1800 Groningen paper also contains articles from Egypt (Cairo) and South Africa (Capetown).³⁰

These findings may be refined by switching from the country to the local level. Table 6 shows for each year the ten cities from which most items originated. For the Haarlem paper this list almost completely matches the list of cities where in 1738 the paper had its own permanent correspondents: Vienna, Paris, Hamburg, London, Rome, Frankfurt, Cologne, Brussels and Venice.³¹ Only Venice is not included in the Haarlem 1750 list where positions nine and ten are occupied by Ostend, the harbour town of the Southern Netherlands, and Regensburg, the seat of the German *Reichstag*. We may conclude that the correspondents shaped the contents of the Haarlem paper to a great extent.³² In the Groningen 'top ten' it is noted that Italian cities dominate and that Saint Petersburg and Madrid are included. In 1800, the German cities are dominant. Only Vienna and Paris are present in all four columns while London is absent from the top ten of the 1750 Groningen newspaper, whose limited interest in Great Britain was discussed earlier.³³

29 Broersma, *Beschaafde vooruitgang*, pp. 73–74, records a drop in the number of items in the *Leeuwarder Courant* between 1753–1793, which he attributes to diminished attention to news editing.

30 The expression 'Other' also comprises Malta. Items from Barbary were grouped with the 'Ottoman empire'.

31 Couvée, 'The Administration', pp. 103, 106.

32 The cities of Vienna, Paris, Hamburg, London, Rome, Frankfurt, Cologne and Brussels occupied the top eight ranks in the 1750 series of the *OHaC*. Together they generated 904 items, which is 36.7 percent of the total for 1750. It is not known in which cities *OHaC* had permanent correspondents in 1750.

33 The Hague, Amsterdam and Groningen (see above, note 15 and *OGroC* 1750: 111 items and *GroC* 1800: 23) are the three Dutch cities that may be compared with Table 6.

2 International News on Its Way to Haarlem and Groningen

The Dutch Republic is known as a country where news services developed early. Only recently, Clé Lesger characterised Amsterdam as an information gateway that was extremely important in 1600.³⁴ Little systematic research has been done on the pace with which news travelled through Europe and reached the Republic. That is understandable, for such research is extremely time consuming and mind numbing. In addition, it requires reliable data on the methods of newspaper publishers and correspondents, the speed of the publication process³⁵ and the mail connections over land and sea.³⁶ Such international data are lacking.

For the Republic, however, some data are now available. At the permanent exhibition of the Amsterdam Press Museum, there is a map of Europe showing the speed with which international news reached Haarlem around 1675. News from London, for instance, took an average of nine days, from Cadiz thirty-one and from Moscow forty days.³⁷ Schneider and Hemels compared the 1766 series of the *Leidsche Courant* [Leiden Newspaper] and the *Amsterdamsche Courant*. Their table shows both the number of news items per country or region and the average time lapse between date and publication.³⁸ Broersma researched the pace at which, from 1753 onwards, foreign news items reached the *Leeuwarder Courant* [Leeuwarden Newspaper]. The pace of the dissemination of news increased considerably only during the nineteenth century. In 1823, foreign news took an average of eighteen days to reach the pages of the *Leeuwarder Courant* but fifty years later it took less than four days.³⁹

34 Clé Lesger, *Handel in Amsterdam ten tijde van de Opstand: Kooplieden, commerciële expansie en veranderingen in de ruimtelijke economie van de Nederlanden ca. 1550–ca. 1630* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001), pp. 209–249.

35 It is estimated that around 1750, 225 to 250 issues could be printed in an hour. Couvée, 'The Administration', p. 107.

36 The reference publication for the Republic remains Jacob C. Overvoorde, *Geschiedenis van het postwezen in Nederland vóór 1795, met de voornaamste verbindingen met het buitenland* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1902).

37 Data on this map result from samples. They were taken from the 1672, 1675 and 1683 series and consisted of the first editions of the months of March, June, September and December. They comprised the Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday editions. With thanks to conservator Angelie Sens.

38 Unlike my Table 7, Schneider (and Hemels), *De Nederlandse krant*, pp. 70–71, do not distinguish between the editions.

39 On average, domestic news reached the papers after 1.7 days instead of 5.3 days. Broersma, *Beschaafde vooruitgang*, pp. 72, 131–132.

At what speed did news travel in the eighteenth century? Table 7 shows the time lapse between the day that reports were sent from selected cities and the day the Haarlem or Groningen papers published them.⁴⁰ Cities were selected for geographical location (central or peripheral Europe) and their share in total news production.⁴¹

Taking an overall view, it is noticeable that cities show only minor fluctuations over the years and weekday editions. The differences between the weekday editions are, for the greater part, explained by patterns in mail deliveries. On one occasion processing of the mail may have led to publication in the Tuesday edition, while on another occasion it may not have. The news item would then appear in the Thursday edition, two days later. Publishers themselves would sometimes create delay by spacing items from a newsletter in successive editions, probably in the hope that readers would be teased into buying the next issue as well.⁴²

The regularity in the publication patterns of news from many cities points to well organised mail links with the Republic.⁴³ News from Brussels would be published in the 1750 Haarlem paper after four days on Thursdays and after three days on Saturdays. Only three out of 86 items from Brussels ended up in the Tuesday edition. The delay of six days indicates that it had been impossible to include them in the Saturday paper. Between 1700 and 1750, the time lapse for news from Brussels diminished by one day—see the 1700 pattern that has a similar regularity.⁴⁴ Seasons seem to have had limited impact on the time lapses, not taking into account exceptions such as the following examples. In August, the Tuesday editions of the 1700 series of the Haarlem paper carried news items from Edinburgh only eleven days old. The greatest time lapses in

40 Time lapses were calculated by including both the news date and publication date. An item sent on 3 January that was published in the edition of 6 January had a time lapse of four days.

41 Inside the Republic, news items also travelled long distances. Items from Maastricht, for example, took five to seven days to reach Haarlem and seven days to reach Groningen. Items from Groningen reached the *OHaC* after a minimum of four days and items from Amsterdam also appeared in the *(O)GroC* after four days. Haarlem is not mentioned as a place of origin in the *(O)GroC*.

42 See e.g. Joop W. Koopmans, 'Vaticaan "watchers" in de 18de eeuw: Nederlandse berichtgeving over de pauswisselingen tussen 1700 en 1740', *Spiegel Historiae*, 36/6 (2001), pp. 238–245, at p. 240.

43 Table 7 does not show this regularity, as it contains only averages.

44 In 1700 as well, only 3 out of 98 items appeared in the Tuesday edition. Two of them had been delayed, with a time lapse of 7 days, and one had been early, with a time lapse of 3 days, hence the average for Tuesday of 6.

the 1750 series of the Groningen paper were seventeen or eighteen days. They concerned Vienna and occurred only during the winter months.⁴⁵

Some other data point to irregularities in mail delivery. Take for example Constantinople in 1800 and the 41-day average for nine items which conceals a range varying from 29 to 54 days. The few items from Malta, which have been left out of the table, were also marked by irregularity. In both 1700 and 1750, the Haarlem paper included one item from this island, with time lapses of 25 and 48 days. The Groningen paper carried one item from Malta in 1750 with a time lapse of 52 days.⁴⁶ These data allow the conclusion that fluctuations increased with distance and the number of delivery nodes they needed to pass through but decreased with the number of newsletters.

Items from outside Europe were rare to the point that we may consider them curious specimens. Places of origin with the greatest time lapses were Goa (381 days in 1750), Caledonia (130 days in 1700), Cairo (91 days in 1800), Curaçao (83 days in 1750) and Capetown (78 days in 1800).⁴⁷ These items arrived from a world that, from many angles, was distant. They may sometimes have been inserted as fillers.

The means of transport remained unchanged during the eighteenth century. Better results could be achieved only through improvement of the infrastructure—shorter routes that were more usable—and through more efficient organisation. By contrast, results could deteriorate if contacts weakened or expertise diminished. In this frame of mind, the modest difference in average time lapse between 1700 and 1750 is not what is notable. Rather, it is the finding that nearly all items from abroad reached the pages of the Groningen paper earlier in 1750 than in 1800. War seems to have affected mail deliveries in central Europe. News from London also arrived with delay, although the mail link, by ferry, remained operational during the Napoleonic era. Censorship does not appear to offer the first explanation. The constitution of 1798 officially guaranteed freedom of the press and the Dutch press was bridled only during the '*Staatsbewind*' of 1801–1805.⁴⁸

45 In earlier times, seasons had influenced the postal system much more. In the sixteenth century, for example, the post between Holland (Delft) and the Baltic (Danzig) had time lapses of between 11 and 51 days. See on this topic Milja van Tielhof, *The 'Mother of all Trades': The Baltic Grain in Amsterdam from the Late 16th to the Early 19th Century* (Leiden, Boston and Cologne: Brill, 2002), pp. 156–166, esp. pp. 158, 164.

46 *OHaC*, 25 November 1700; *OHaC*, 25 July 1750; *OGroC*, 2 January 1750.

47 *OHaC*, 7 February 1750; *OHaC*, 6 July 1700; *GroC*, 16 September 1800; *OHaC*, 17 October 1750; *GroC*, 10 January 1800.

48 Gerlof D. Homan, 'The *Staatsbewind* and Freedom of the Press', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 89 (1976), pp. 12–27.

TABLE 7 Time lapse, in days, before publication in the Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday issues of the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* (*OHaC*) of 1700 and 1750, and in the Tuesday and Friday issues of the (*Opregte*) *Groninger Courant* ((*O*)*GroC*) of 1750 and 1800 of news items originating in European cities

Speed in days	<i>OHaC</i> 1700			<i>OHaC</i> 1750			<i>OGroC</i> 1750		<i>GroC</i> 1800	
	Tue	Thu	Sat	Tue	Thu	Sat	Tue	Frid	Tue	Frid
Netherlands (south)										
Brussels	6	5	4	6	4	3	6	5	8	10
Ostend				7	5	4			9	11
France										
Paris	8	7	6	9	7	6	9	8	9	9
Great Britain										
Edinburgh	16	15	13							
London	8	7	6	8	7	9	9	8	16	15
German countries										
Augsburg				6		10	13	12	15	15
Berlin	8	10	8	8	10	8	8	9	13	14
Cologne	5	4	5	5	6	5	5	5	11	10
Dresden	9	10	7	13	11	12	12	11	21	
Frankfurt	7	7	7	7	7	7	8	8	10	11
Hamburg	5	7	5	5	7	5	6	6	11	11
Hanover	8	9	8	8	7	8	8	8		
Königsberg	12		12	13			19			
Munich				13	16	14	13	12	16	17
Regensburg	12	13	11	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Vienna	14	13	15	14	13	15	14	14	19	19
Switzerland										
Basel	12		13						14	15
Bern	12					16			24	22
Geneva				12	14	15	15	16		
Denmark										
Copenhagen	8	10	8	11	13	12	12	11	13	18

TABLE 7 Time lapse, in days, before publication in *OHaC* (*cont.*)

Speed in days	<i>OHaC</i> 1700			<i>OHaC</i> 1750			<i>OGroC</i> 1750		<i>GroC</i> 1800	
	Tue	Thu	Sat	Tue	Thu	Sat	Tue	Frid	Tue	Frid
Sweden										
Stockholm	14	16	15	14	15	14	14	16	22	25
Poland										
Danzig	11	13	11	12	14	12	14	16		
Warsaw	18	17	17	17	16	16	16	16		
Riga (Liv.)	21	21	17			17	20			21
Italy										
Florence	24			25	20	22	22	21		
Genoa		20	22	24	20	22	22	21	24	
Leghorn		18	20	24	21	23	23	23		30
Milan		16	18	20	19	19	19	19	22	24
Rome	25	20	22	18	20	22	24	23		38
Turin		20	24	19	20	22	20	19	26	24
Spain										
Cadiz	30	33					35			
Madrid	20	22		22	24	21	23	24		
Portugal										
Lisbon	29	33	33	36	39	28	34	34		
Russia										
Moscow	35	38	37				35	35		
St. Petersburg				24	25	23	24	24	27	25
Ottoman empire										
Constantinople	38	49	43	55	36	41	48	51	41	41

Did the Groningen publisher Sipkes keep his promise to beat the Holland papers by two days? Comparison of the Tuesday editions of both papers that appeared in 1750 shows that the Groningen paper succeeded in publishing only a few items before the Haarlem paper did (items from Warsaw and some Italian cities). In most cases the Groningen paper was either as quick or slower. We should take into account that an item that appeared in the Thursday edition of the Haarlem paper with a time lapse of seven days reached the Groningen audience almost at the same time as an item that reached the Friday edition of the Groningen paper in eight days, because it took the Haarlem paper some time to reach the stalls of the Groningen booksellers. In these cases, the Groningen paper was not outdone by its Holland rival. Other data also help put Sipkes' claim into perspective.⁴⁹ The Groningen paper needed nineteen days in 1750 to publish news from Königsberg in Prussia, while the Haarlem paper needed only twelve or thirteen days in 1700 and 1750. The Groningen case, however, concerns only one item on trade.⁵⁰ It possibly spent one week on the editor's desk. The twelve-day time lapse of the Haarlem paper was short because the connection between Königsberg and Cleves, that had run twice a week since 1655, itself took ten days. The mail then still needed to travel from Cleves to Haarlem.⁵¹

3 Impact of the Slow Dissemination of News

How did the slow dissemination of international news affect the way people experienced it and how did it shape early modern society? Broersma concludes that 'News was news at the moment someone heard or read it for the first time. It did not matter how long ago the event had occurred'. He shores up his conclusion using the example of the Frisian who in 1801 calmly waited half a week before he sent newspapers to his parents, supposedly because the additional days made no difference.⁵² Broersma's view receives additional confirmation from the public's reaction of shock upon learning war news dating back several weeks or months. The inhabitants of London, for instance, celebrated wildly

49 Even when one does not take into account printing errors that are not easily detected yet may affect our impressions.

50 *OGroC*, 3 February 1750.

51 Overvoorde, *Geschiedenis van het postwezen*, p. 31. For this reason, the 1700 series of the *OHaC* carries items from Königsberg only in the Tuesday and Saturday editions. Items straight from Cleves averaged four days in 1700.

52 Broersma, *Beschaafde vooruitgang*, p. 73.

when, at the end of May 1741, they were informed of Admiral Vernon's victory over the Spaniards near Cartagena in the Caribbean, which he had achieved six weeks earlier.⁵³

The last example demonstrates that a long time lapse between event and dissemination did not necessarily reduce the reaction of contemporaries. Yet the news date may have affected people's attitudes. The dividing line between the present and history was simply drawn differently, if only because most news dated back several weeks.⁵⁴ Readers could react with emotional calm to disasters that had already happened, even if they did not hear the outcome. An 'old' disaster that had not, to use a figure of speech, set the world aflame, generated fewer feelings of anxiety than a contemporary attack whose effects still needed to become clear.⁵⁵ In addition, readers lacked images and consequently could make only limited representations of events outside their own regions. They depended on oral and written eyewitness accounts. Of course, emotions were expressed when dear ones were involved. In 1755 for instance, Amsterdam merchants were deeply worried about relatives in Lisbon when they heard at the end of November that on the first day of that month the city had suffered an earthquake.⁵⁶

The example of Cartagena allows yet other suppositions regarding the impact of the pace of news dissemination. The Spanish Viceroy Don Sebastian de Esteba claimed that the British government had manipulated the news on the victory. He suggested that news reporters had been bribed and that the British court had withheld data for fear of riots.⁵⁷ To compensate for this lack of objectivity, the viceroy produced his own account. These strategies make it tempting to suppose that early modern authorities could manipulate news from abroad more easily than today, by setting limits on news publishers or preemptively checking newspaper content. The slow pace at which news spread through the lines of communication offered governments such opportunities. The relatively slow production process of periodicals and the limited number of weekday editions also favoured princely courts.⁵⁸

Today, authorities and public opinion can react almost instantly to simultaneous events occurring all over the world. This was not possible before the

53 *Nederlandsch gedenkboek of Europische Mercurius (EM)*, 52/1 (1741), pp. 288–299.

54 Cf. Woolf, 'News', pp. 80–83.

55 E.g. the first non-American reactions concerning the terrorist attacks on the U.S.A. after 11 September 2001.

56 Blaak, 'Informatie', pp. 64–66.

57 *EM*, 52/2 (1741), pp. 3–11, 109–110, 164–177 (the journal).

58 Modern governments may of course manipulate modern media and means of communication such as the Internet and satellite links.

newest media appeared. Public dissatisfaction could not be quickly mobilised on a large scale, nor be speedily addressed. The local dissemination of printed reactions of public opinion, usually through pamphlets rather than newspapers, took several days.⁵⁹ A classic example in Dutch history of mass protest travelling slowly was the iconoclastic movement that started in Flanders in August 1566 and only reached the Groningen countryside five weeks later.⁶⁰ This first phase in the Dutch rebellion also demonstrates that authorities in Brussels could not make effective responses because they needed to wait several weeks for orders from the sovereign in 'distant' Madrid. Like news items, reactions to all kinds of events abroad took a long time because of the conditions of communication. In 1709 for example, the Swedish home front lost contact with their king, Charles XII. After his defeat by the Russians near Poltava, the king wandered in the direction of the Turks and, for a long time, the Swedes did not even know if he was still alive.

Early modern dissemination of news also made it hard to quickly check the reliability of dubious items. The publisher of the Groningen newspaper aired this complaint with regard to war news from Egypt:

Before one would say that dubious news items required confirmation, but today one should demand double confirmation of news messages that are marked as authentic. One has, for example, consistently depicted the French capitulation in Egypt as very disadvantageous to them, yet with hindsight it is clear from all circumstances that it was laudable and fair.⁶¹

The incomplete reliability of news possibly made public opinion more sensitive to oral rumours based on eyewitness accounts and correspondence from various individuals. In addition, it simply took longer before people could combine their own experiences with those of people living elsewhere. The earthquake news from Lisbon demonstrates this. On 1 November 1755, earthquake tremors had been registered in Amsterdam as well as in Lisbon, but it took nearly a month before the inhabitants of Amsterdam could link their memories with the more serious news from Portugal.⁶²

59 Matthijs van Otegem, 'Tijd, snelheid, afstand: De mechanica van het pamflet', *De Zevende Eeuw*, 17 (2001), pp. 50–61.

60 Jozef Scheerder, *De Beeldenstorm* (Haarlem: De Haan, 1978), pp. 18–97.

61 *GroC*, 2 May 1800.

62 Blaak, 'Informatie', p. 65.

4 Conclusion

To early modern newspaper readers it was self evident that they could never be knowledgeable about the latest developments elsewhere in the world. Readers were used to newspapers that carried both news articles that dated back only a few days and articles that dated back several months. The overall impression of newspapers in Haarlem and Groningen provides grounds for the hypothesis that eighteenth-century Dutch newspaper readers could reflect mainly on news from Europe. Most news items originated from neighbouring countries and primarily discussed events in those countries. With respect to the pace of news, the most notable finding is that the Groningen newspaper provided its readers with more up-to-date news in 1750 than it did in 1800. Technological advances and gradual professionalisation would speed up news considerably during the following centuries. The discussion of the impact of the slow pace of news dissemination, compared to today, may in part be summarised by this extended proverb: what the eye does not [yet] see, the heart does not [yet] grieve over. The slow pace of news dissemination in early modern society slowed perception of the links between the international news. It probably also resulted in a more distant attitude to this news, which, after all, came from parts of the world for which the Dutch public felt little or no responsibility. Both decisions by authorities and reactions by the public regarding distant events were more often fragmented and outdated than they are today.

The Early 1730s Shipworm Disaster in Dutch News Media*

The Netherlands have long depended on sea dikes anchored by wooden palisades.¹ During the early autumn storms of 1730, however, even recently installed poles suddenly broke off. This was strange and gravely threatening, since holes in sea dikes would naturally lead to serious flooding in more extreme weather conditions. In 1730, the damage was first perceived on the Zeelandic isle of Walcheren, during the following year in West Frisia—near the small city of Medemblik—and subsequently in other North Sea coastal areas and harbours. In the beginning, not much was known about the agent of the damage, which was caused by the *teredo navalis*, a marine bivalve mollusc. The lack of understanding partially explains why it took so long before it became clear how the molluscs could be successfully combatted. In the meantime, various explanations were presented, not only in the affected areas, but also in regions where similar wooden constructions were used for water defence.² The infestation aroused anxious reactions across the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic.

So far, the historiography has mainly focused on analysing the course of the 1730s shipworm epidemic, its consequences and potential remedies. Recently, for instance, Adam Sundberg compared shipworm to both floods and cattle plagues during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.³ In 2003, José Mouthaan published an article dealing with the contemporary debate about the shipworm epidemic. The sources she used consisted mainly of pamphlets and sermons.⁴ Other scholars, such as A.C. Carter-Le Mesurier and J.A. Bakker,

* This chapter was earlier published in *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Countries Studies*, 40/2 (2016), pp. 139–150.

1 For comments and assistance I am grateful to Megan Williams, Jelle Krol and Adriaan Duijveman.

2 The shipworm threat still exists. See, e.g. Peter Paalvast and Gerard van der Velde, 'New Threats of an Old Enemy: The Distribution of the Shipworm *Teredo navalis* L. (Bivalvia: Terebinidae) Related to Climate Change in the Port of Rotterdam Area, the Netherlands', *Marine Pollution Bulletin*, 62 (2011), pp. 1822–1829.

3 Adam Sundberg, 'Floods, Worms, and Cattle Plague: Nature-induced Disaster at the Closing of the Dutch Golden Age, 1672–1764' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Kansas, 2015), notably chapter 4.

4 José Mouthaan, 'The Appearance of a Strange Kind of "See-Worm" at the Dutch Coast, 1731–

also based their conclusions on the same material and on governmental documents, such as resolutions.⁵

Until now the news media disseminating information about the shipworm infestation has not played a prominent role in research on the epidemic. However, its content and publication policy can teach us more about the ways in which societies dealt with catastrophes in the past. The degree of attention that news media devote to disasters is dependent on the many differences between these catastrophes. Tragedies taking place nearby and having many victims or much damage have always been breaking news in their immediate surroundings almost instantly, at least in political systems without censorship and fear of interfering authorities.⁶ On the other hand, slowly developing disasters usually generate only modest media attention in the beginning, followed by one or more peaks related to specific factors, such as new research or measures to solve the problems. Furthermore, it is evident that news about disasters may help to shape more resilience among the populations involved, but may also bring anxiety and unrest, particularly when sensational, false or ominous information has been presented. We may assume that, basically, this was not very different in previous centuries, although the ways in which people may react to catastrophes have changed considerably.⁷

This article is intended as an early modern case study of the role of news media during catastrophes. How did contemporary Dutch news media report damage caused by shipworm and how should we assess those reports? How

1735', *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Countries Studies*, 27/1 (2003), pp. 3–22. See also her elaboration 'Het Knaegen der Wormen aen de Paelen der Nederlandze Zeedyken': *Reacties op de Teredo navalis in de Nederlandse Republiek vanuit Cultuurhistorisch Perspectief, 1731-1735* (Zoetermeer: Free Musketeers, 2010).

5 Alice C. Carter-Le Mesurier, 'Amsterdam and the "onbekend soort van zeeworm" in the 1730's', *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, 70 (1978), pp. 239–249; Jan Albert Bakker, 'Paalwormen, dijken, hunnebedden en onze eerste monumentenwet', in Henk M. van der Velde etc. (eds.), *Van graven in de prehistorie en dingen die voorbijgaan* (Leiden: Sidestone, 2011), pp. 281–324.

6 Peter L.M. Vasterman, 'Media en rampen', *Psychologie & gezondheid*, 36/3 (2008), pp. 105–110. Nowadays, as a result of new and social media, most disasters that occur far away will also be immediately reported worldwide. This leads to changing engagement patterns. See, e.g. Maria Kyriakidou, 'Media Witnessing: Exploring the Audience of Distant Suffering', *Media, Culture & Society* 37/2 (2015), pp. 215–231. See also Raingard Esser and Marijke Meijer Drees, 'Coping with Crisis: An Introduction', *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Countries Studies*, 40/2 (2016), pp. 93–96.

7 See also, e.g. Joop W. Koopmans, 'The 1755 Lisbon Earthquake and Tsunami in Dutch News Sources: The Functioning of Early Modern News Dissemination', in Simon F. Davies and Puck Fletcher (eds.), *News in Early Modern Europe: Currents and Connections* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), pp. 19–40.

did Dutch authorities use the newspapers to develop suitable measures against shipworm? First, this article discusses the question of when and in which newspapers, news items about shipworm appeared. The second section examines news sources that included, in contrast to newspapers, not only news but also comment on the disaster and documents about policies to fight shipworm. Particular attention will be given to the *Europische Mercurius* [European Mercury], since this news digest—the most prominent of Dutch news digests of the time—contained several extensive appendices regarding the topic.

1 The Shipworm Infestation in Contemporary Dutch Newspapers

The 1730s shipworm disaster can be categorized as a disaster that had an unexpected and curious beginning, since it occurred in a small area and did not immediately escalate across a wide region. One might then expect that such a small-scale event would have few extensive news reports and at most perhaps the oral circulation of eyewitness accounts and occasional small items as more details about the calamity and proposed remedies became known. Does this expectation apply to the eighteenth-century epidemic in question?

In the search for relevant news reports it is important to bear in mind that Dutch newspapers were only published in the province of Holland, not in Zeeland, where the first damaged poles were discovered in 1730. However, the distance between Zeeland and the Holland presses was not far. Travellers between these neighbouring provinces must have spread information about the alarming situation swiftly. Still, during the autumn of 1730 the Holland newspapers of Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden and The Hague did not include any news reports about the Walcheren water defence problems at all.⁸ This strikes one as rather peculiar, even when we take into account that the Holland newspapers—published in this province since 1618—included chiefly foreign news, while focusing their small share of domestic news mostly on authorized political announcements and shipping information related to the world of trade and commerce. Did Holland news suppliers consider the Zee-

⁸ Dutch newspapers can be consulted via the site www.delpher.nl. For the period September–December 1730 this collection contains the complete series of the *Amsterdamse Courant* [Amsterdam Newspaper] (AC), *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* [Sincere Haarlem Newspaper] (OHC) and *'s Gravenhaegse Courant* [The Hague Newspaper] ('sGC). The *Leydse Courant* [Leiden Newspaper] (LeyC) series can be consulted via the site of Erfgoed Leiden en omstreken <http://leiden.courant.nu/>. The *Delfsche Courant* [Delft Newspaper]—in 1733 continued as *Hollandsche Historische Courant* [Holland Historical Newspaper]—was not used for this research because not many copies of the relevant years are available.

land damage unimportant or not yet sufficiently urgent, therefore leaving it to oral dissemination—or were other factors at stake? They probably did not feel comfortable publishing news about the situation, particularly in the beginning when the damaged poles could still be interpreted as the consequence of deferred maintenance. Although the Dutch Republic had a relatively free press, a critical attitude towards the authorities was not yet regarded as permissible.⁹ During the autumn of 1731, Holland newspapers also remained silent about West Frisian shipworm damage. Even the *Amsterdamse Courant*, published close to the afflicted region, did not mention anything. This repeated lack of newspaper reports about damage to the sea dikes strongly suggests self-censorship.

By 1732, the third year of the epidemic, the authorities still did not know how to tackle the problem. This state of affairs can also be considered a politically sensitive situation on which the newspapers were loath to report. It is, therefore, most striking, that the authorities themselves were the first to end the silence about the topic in the newspapers, by appealing to the Dutch population to come forward with solutions. During the summer of 1732, the Drechterland Water Board responsible for the affected West Frisian sea dikes, chose the Amsterdam newspaper's advertorial section as a means to solicit citizen assistance several times. Citizens were invited to come up with suggestions and to test their inventions; they would need to contact the Hoorn or Enkhuizen dikereeve for this.¹⁰ At the same time, the States of Holland announced a call for tenders to deliver timber and other materials to repair the sea dikes.¹¹ This notice may, to some extent, have given the readership a feeling of safety, since, at any rate, it displayed decisiveness concerning procedures to cope with the crisis.

Dutch authorities already had a long tradition of using newspapers as a medium to announce new or revised regulations, such as those concerning fairs and public transport, and also to publish notices describing missing persons or criminals on the run.¹² However, this use of newspapers to ask the public's help with a crucial problem was rather exceptional. It can be seen as an indication of

9 See, e.g. Inger Leemans, 'Censuur als onmacht: De omstreden Nederlandse publieke ruimte 1660–1760', in Marita Mathijssen (ed.), *Boeken onder druk: Censuur en pers-onvrijheid in Nederland sinds de boekdrukkunst* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), pp. 45–58.

10 AC, 26 June, 1, 5, 10, 12, 15 and 19 July 1732.

11 AC, 28 June 1732; OHC, 28 June and 1 July 1732; 'GCG, 30 June and 4 July 1732; LeyC, 2 (in Delpher wrongly placed under 4) and 9 July 1732.

12 The governmental use of newspapers for publishing announcements had started in the 1630s.

the situation's gravity. This also applies to the 'recommendation' of the States of Holland that Reformed ministers ask and pray God to end the infestation, while simultaneously admonishing their churchgoers to confess remorse. This call was considered news and reported in the newspaper columns—not in the advertisements—by the end of October 1732.¹³ In this case, the States of Holland followed other provinces, among them the Frisian States who had, according to the newspapers, scheduled a day of prayer because of the shipworm problems on 3 September 1732.¹⁴ The newspaper editors undoubtedly felt the obligation to include these governmental announcements in their columns, thus following established practices of information about days of prayer in case of war and peace, pestilence, severe times and the prosecution of fellow believers.¹⁵

In late 1732 and in 1733, the Rotterdam printer Hendrik van Pelt enhanced the popular idea that shipworm should be regarded as divine punishment by advertising his publications in the newspapers, with titles such as “Een verzameling van de Oordeelen Gods, bestaende in zeewormen” [A collection of God's judgments consisting of shipworms] and “'t Treur-kreet des overtreedens tegen den Heere, betoogd in eene weeklage over 't ontluysterde Nederland, ter geleegentheyd van 't geduchte Oordeel der zeewormen” [Mourning cry, concerning the misbehaviour against the Lord, argued in a lamentation about the tarnished Netherlands, on the occasion of the fearsome plague of the shipworms].¹⁶ By including such advertisements and news about days of prayer, newspapers implicitly strengthened the narrative that the shipworm infestation was God's reaction to sinful behaviour, and also that human solutions would remain insufficient. Although contemporaries were used to such forms of Christian rhetoric, they were repeatedly confronted with terrifying sugges-

13 For example: 'sGC, 27 October 1732; OHC, 28 October 1732; AC, 28 and 30 October 1732. Also in *Europische Mercurius* (EM), 43/2 (1732), pp. 193–194.

14 AC and OHC, 30 August 1732. The States of Zeeland and Groningen also called for a day of prayer.

15 For example: AC, 28 January 1702, 17 May 1721, 3 March 1729; 'sGC, 25 February 1726, 26 January 1731; LeyC, 28 January 1728; OHC, 1 March 1732. About Dutch days of prayer (including the yearly character from 1713): Donald Haks, *Vaderland en vrede 1672-1713: Publiciteit over de Nederlandse Republiek in oorlog* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), pp. 73–76. The 19 November 1732 advertisement in the *Leydse Courant* for a Dutch translation of a Jewish prayer regarding the shipworm tragedy communicated that this religious group had also felt the need to ask for heavenly support. Cf. Mouthaan, 'The Appearance', p. 5.

16 For example: AC, 11 and 16 December 1732, 29 and 31 January 1733, 1 and 3 December 1733; 'sGC, 5 and 10 December 1732, 12 and 16 January 1733; LeyC, 23 and 27 November 1733. The Haarlem newspaper was not much used as a medium for advertisements concerning publications on shipworm.

tions of the Dutch Republic's future ruin. This must have intensified opinions about divine fate or destiny and limited human possibilities to control the circumstances.

At the same time, the 1732 and 1733 newspapers included a number of announcements about people experimenting with all kinds of possible means to structurally adapt sea dikes in order to end the shipworm threat. Readers following the advertorial sections could get an impression of the diversity of proposed remedies. For instance, in August 1732, not long after governmental appeal mentioned above, a certain Paul Antoine Varet declared that he had invented a kind of pitch that would be tested near the city of Medemblik.¹⁷ During the same month, the experienced Jewish Amsterdam surgeon Abraham German advertised a rather vague remedy that could be used internally as well as externally.¹⁸ It is unlikely that his recipe was applicable, as German's name does not return in later sources concerning the shipworms.¹⁹ Anyhow, during the last months of 1732, many Dutch citizens were not yet aware of the fact that wood was not a proper material for sustainably protecting new dikes against salt water. This can be perfectly demonstrated with advertisements published by the Gelderland city of Wageningen, situated in the heart of the Dutch Republic. In December 1732, Wageningen announced the public sale of trees in the *'s Gravenhaegse Courant*. A number of them were deemed suitable for use "as poles along the sea dikes".²⁰

More apparently useful ideas followed in 1733, such as a plan for new dike constructions made from stone and iron. The advertisement for the booklet in which this idea was elaborated, published in the 16 June Amsterdam newspaper, stated that the publication had been sent to "the country's sovereigns".²¹

17 Varet cooperated with Jean de la Croze. *'sGC*, 11 August 1732. The pitch was still pretested in May 1733. See *Resolutien van de Heeren Staaten van Holland en West Friesland (...) 1733* (s.l.: s.n., [1733]), 22 May 1733, pp. 632–633.

18 *AC*, 21 August 1732; *LeyC*, 22 August 1732.

19 German's reputation, however, seems not to have been bad, as he was allowed to continue his profession in 1733, while many others were forced to end theirs by then. David Ezechiel Cohen, 'De Amsterdamsche Joodsche chirurgijns', *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde*, 74 (1930), pp. 2234–2256, at 2250–2251.

20 *'sGC*, 15 and 22 December 1732.

21 *'sGC*, 29 May 1733; *AC*, 16 June 1733. These advertisements did not mention the author's name, which was Henricus Engelhardt. The advertisement in *LeyC*, 29 May 1733, mentions him as engraver. The publication's title: *Goede suffisante Gods verleende, uitgevondende middelen, omme yzere, en steene zeemuuren, met paalen zonder metzelwerk, tegens het schadelyke zeegewormte te maken etc.* (The Hague: Laurens Berkoske, 1733). See also *OHC*, 3, 7 and 17 December 1733, and Mouthaan, 'Het Knaegen der Wormen', pp. 35–36. The not digitized 1733 *OHC* copies have been consulted in the Noord-Hollands Archief (Haarlem).

The remark in this advertisement about addressing the authorities must have given hope to the reading audience that the shipworm problem could be solved. The same applies to Pieter Voerman's advertisements about his alleged invention in the newspapers' autumn 1733 issues. They state that three poles of the Muiden dike, near the city of Amsterdam, had been lubricated with different substances in 1732. One of those poles had been unaffected since then, so until the beginning of October 1733—which the authorities would have confirmed through an official document. It also becomes clear via a few newspaper announcements that he had oiled several ships with the same substance as had been used for the undamaged pole. The relevant dike authorities, however, reacted in the 16 October newspaper that they were not yet convinced of the good effects of Voerman's remedy and that his notification was misleading. In November, Voerman repeated his request to get provisional approval. He did not yet claim that his invention would be effective in the long term. More tests were needed to prove this, but he asked that they be carried out.²² It is obvious that he hoped to earn money with his product, but also that the authorities were careful and wished to avoid potentially false expectations. They used the same news medium as Voerman to contradict him—an intriguing indication of the early importance of newspapers as a communication platform between the state and its citizens in controlling reactions to disasters.

By the end of 1732, other news about the shipworm tragedy also entered the newspapers. Messages from the Southern Netherlands revealed that the molluscs had infected wooden coastal constructions such as lock gates in the Flemish towns of Blankenberge, Ostend and Nieuwpoort. The States of Flanders had started inspections.²³ Dutch news readers could conclude from these reports that the problem was not restricted to the Dutch Republic. Furthermore, it was perhaps comforting to Dutch Protestants that God did not only punish them, but also Roman Catholics. January 1733 issues of the Dutch newspapers included news from Italy that Catholics in the Southern Netherlands had requested that the Pope pray for relief of the shipworm. Reportedly, the Brussels papal nuncio, who did not believe in human means to end the plague, sent a liqueur bottle containing a few shipworms to the Pope.²⁴

22 AC, 6 and 13 October, 10 November 1733; OHC, 29 October 1733. Voerman lived in Amsterdam, at the end of the Wittenburg isle, an area with many shipyards. The 15 August 1733 Amsterdam issue includes a message about a ship that had been treated with Voerman's 'remedy', which was still without shipworms after 12 months.

23 AC, 9 and 11 December 1732; 's GrC, 10 December 1732.

24 LeyC, 21 January 1733; AC, 22 January 1733; 'sGC, 23 January 1733. This news message reached the Dutch newspapers via Rome. Cf. Mouthaan, 'The Appearance', pp. 14–15.

The way foreign newspapers treated the shipworm epidemic in the Netherlands would have been more disturbing to its citizens. The 13 January 1733 Amsterdam newspaper stated that the newspapers of the Swiss city of Bern and the German cities of Cologne and Nuremberg had reported that the city of Amsterdam stood on the brink of collapse. According to the Nuremberg newspaper, the richest Amsterdam merchants were already evacuating their houses and bringing their belongings to safety. Moreover, the Dutch authorities were supposed to have urged 12 cities and 200 villages to evacuate their inhabitants. The Bern and Cologne newspapers were said to have even stated that the shipworms gnawed stones and that the Amsterdam city hall was already sinking.²⁵ The Amsterdam editor refuted this news by remarking that it had been made up by persons without knowledge about the topic who wished to mislead the common people. Amsterdam merchants and entrepreneurs, in particular, must have hoped that foreign news suppliers would pick up this Amsterdam refutation, as negative news about their city could of course harm their business. In February 1733, also the Dutch States General emphasized—in their call for a day of prayer across the whole country—that the disaster was less serious than had been stated in many “unfounded rumours”.²⁶

The dissemination of news about the Dutch shipworm epidemic abroad can be further illustrated by a comic report published in the 24 April 1733 Leiden newspaper issue, which is rather characteristic of British parliamentary rhetoric. The new British Member of Parliament representing County Kent had stated that he had to protest a new tax in the House of Commons, as he thought that the Dutch had protested against the devastation of the sea dikes by the shipworms. His comparison would have led to much hilarity according to the report,²⁷ probably also among Dutch readers reading it in the *Leydse Courant*. At that moment the Dutch audience was already better informed. The episode nonetheless makes clear that Dutch problems with shipworm were a

25 Afterwards more extensively reported in *EM*, 43/2 (1732), pp. 307–308, in which the Bern newspaper issues of 6 and 13 December 1732 are quoted (in Dutch translation), and also a supposed German newsletter. The Bern newspaper must have been the newspaper known as the “Gazette de Berne”, with the official name *Nouvelles de divers endroits* (unfortunately no 1732 copies are available). The Nuremberg newspaper is most likely the long established *Teutsche Kriegs-Kurier*—see, e.g. Sonja Schultheiss-Heinz, *Politik in der europäischen Publizistik: Eine historische Inhaltsanalyse von Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004).

26 See, e.g. *AC*, 19 February 1733; *’sGC*, 20 February 1733; *OHC*, 21 February 1733.

27 Although the report does not mention his full name (only “Eduard D”), it was the Tory MP Sir Edward Dering (1705–1762). Also published in *EM*, 44/1 (1733), p. 180.

well-known issue within British governmental circles. This is not strange, as the shipworms also threatened coastal areas in Britain.

2 Other News Sources about the Shipworm

Although Dutch newspapers did not yet function as a news medium comprehensively covering the Dutch administrative policy concerning the shipworm disaster in the 1730s, their advertisements referred to other sources in which readers could find further relevant information about the epidemic. During the last months of 1732, for instance, the Amsterdam newspaper published Jacob Duyn's advertisements about his publication dedicated to the damage to Northern Holland and West Frisian sea dikes. The booklet included several surveys from the water boards, covering the results of their examinations and other activities to handle the difficult situation, followed by their joint appeal to the States of Holland asking for financial support. The water boards explained that they could no longer bear the high financial burden, resulting from expensive repairs and experiments regarding reconstruction.²⁸

Furthermore, in late December 1732, the Amsterdam bookseller and cartographer Hendrick de Leth was advertising a new map of West Frisia, including the "Vier Noorder Koggen", the area most affected by shipworm, in the The Hague newspaper.²⁹ By choosing to advertise in the newspaper published in the political heart of the Dutch Republic he probably intended to market his product to the circle of regents and civil servants—groups that had to be well informed about the situation. Detailed maps could be helpful for this. In 1733, De Leth and other booksellers also offered publications featuring a few promising dike restructuring proposals.³⁰

The Amsterdam newspaper report about the German and Swiss news, mentioned above, coincided with the publication of a pamphlet on shipworm written by the Huguenot news reporter Jean Rousset de Missy, and published almost simultaneously in French and Dutch. Advertisements for both versions

28 AC, 20 and 22 November, 2 and 6 December 1632. The title of the publication: *Beschryvinge, van de schade en rasinge aan de zee-dyken van Noort-Holland en West-Vriesland, door de worm in de palen, en de daar op gevolgde storm etc.* (Hoorn: Jacob Duyn, [1732]). The request also in EM, 43/2 (1732), pp. 282–285.

29 'sGC, 22 December 1732. Other examples of maps of Northern Holland and Frisia in EM, 43/2 (1732), between pp. 288–289 and pp. 306–307.

30 It concerns the proposals of Seger Lakenman, and both Pieter Straat and Pieter van der Deure. AC, 20 and 24 January 1733, 2 April 1733, 26 September 1733; 'sGC, 30 January 1733; LeyC, 26 January and 5 October 1733. See also Mouthaan, 'The Appearance', pp. 9–10.

could be found in the newspaper editions of January 1733.³¹ Rousset opened his text with the remark that he felt duty-bound to react to false rumours. He continued with a few examples of the misleading foreign news and elaborated on them more extensively than the Amsterdam newspaper editor. He also gave rational explanations as to why the foreign reports were nonsense: shipworms could not live in sweet water, so they could not be present in the Amsterdam canals and damage city houses built on timber poles.³² Though foreign audiences clearly were not familiar with this knowledge, Dutch citizens already were, which must have diminished fear of shipworm further inland.

In short, readers who wanted to know more about the state of affairs could go to the bookstores and buy a variety of publications about the shipworm epidemic, its consequences and control. Among these publications were periodicals, the editors of which thought the epidemic a suitable subject to attract readers. Two of these periodicals were the *Nederlandse Maendelykse Postryder* [Netherlands Monthly Postal Rider], which included—according to newspaper advertisements—descriptions of the state of the dikes in the region West Frisia in the north of Holland, and the monthly *Hollandse Spion* [Holland Spy], which published a “unique story” about the origin of the shipworm late in 1732.³³ Another example is Justus van Effen’s popular magazine *De Hollandsche Spectator* [The Holland Spectator], in which the author implicitly explained the shipworm disaster as divine punishment for the many so-called ‘sodomites’ who had been prosecuted in the Dutch Republic at the time.³⁴ Van Effen assumed that people should exhibit remorse; otherwise human solutions would not help. However, it should also be noted that he favoured disclosure of information: The conditions of the disaster should not be concealed as a state secret, because the more people knew about shipworm, the sooner a good solution would emerge.³⁵ In this respect he expressed an enlightened opinion.

31 *’sGC*, 5 January 1733; *LeyC*, 9, 12 and 21 January 1733; *AC*, 24 January 1733.

32 The English translation: *Observations on the sea- or pile-worms which have been lately discover’d to have made great ravages in the pile- or wood-works on the coast of Holland, &c.* (London: J. Roberts, 1733).

33 *AC*, 4 November and 2 December 1732; *LeyC*, 5 November 1732 and 3 December 1732. No copies of *De Hollands(ch)e Spion* have been traced so far. Thanks to Rietje van Vliet for consulting her entry about this periodical, to be published in *Encyclopedie Nederlandstalige tijdschriften* <https://enti815.wordpress.com/>.

34 This issue had escalated during the previous years and had led to many prosecutions. See, e.g. Dirk J. Noordam, *Riskante relaties: Vijf eeuwen homoseksualiteit in Nederland, 1233–1733* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995), pp. 212–307.

35 *De Hollandsche Spectator*, 21 November 1732. See also Inger Leemans and Gert-Jan Johannes, *Worm en donder. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1700–1800: De Republiek* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2013), pp. 626–627.

The news digest *Europische Mercurius*, in particular, responded more adequately to the need for information by including appendices with much information and comments. The appendices were published in the 1732 and 1733 half-yearly volumes.³⁶ The first 1732 volume even had a frontispiece in which the shipworm tragedy was depicted as one of the issue's leading news items (See Figure 25). Furthermore, a rhymed explanation of this frontispiece announced the volume's first appendix with the lines:

Moreover, on the other side one sees,
The Worms' plague in our Country:
'Twill be treated in this Volume more extensively,
With more, (so that here I can be brief).³⁷

Generally the *Europische Mercurius*' frontispieces did not depict many Dutch topics, which, again, emphasizes the journalistic value of shipworm and anticipated public interest in 1732. Several other engravings accompanied the text in the appendices, such as a huge fold-out with pictures representing affected oak tree poles (See Figure 26).³⁸

The editor's evaluating remarks in the Mercury's appendices are the most interesting parts within the context of this article, as they give us a glimpse of the ongoing public debates and disputes surrounding the shipworm crisis. In the first appendix the editor toned down the issue, which he felt many people had exaggerated, even the authorities; research would demonstrate that more poles had been affected by age than by shipworm.³⁹ This opinion must have

36 *EM*, 43/1 (1732), pp. 296–309; 11, pp. 281–313; 44/1 (1733), pp. 285–292; the last finished in 44/2 (1733), pp. 288–300. About this digest, e.g. Joop W. Koopmans, 'Storehouses of News: The Meaning of Early Modern News Periodicals in Western Europe', in Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond and Jeroen Salmen (eds.), *Not Dead Things: The Dissemination of Popular Print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500–1820* (Leiden and Boston, 2013), pp. 253–273, at pp. 262–264. It is obvious that also this digest's publisher, J. Ratelband Heirs and Company, considered the news about the shipworms as an excellent selling point, since the appendices were specifically mentioned in the newspapers' advertisements. See, e.g. *AC*, 12 August 1732; *LeyC*, 20 August and 5 November 1732, 24 December 1732, 19 and 28 August 1733.

37 Quote in Dutch: "Noch ziet men aan den and'ren kant, | De plaag der Wormen in ons Land: | 't Geen breeder, (opdat ik bekort,) | Met meêr, in 't Werk verhandeld wordt." Joop W. Koopmans, 'Nieuwsprenten in de *Europische Mercurius* van 1730–1733', *Tijdschrift voor Mediageschiedenis* 6/1 (2003), pp. 5–27, at 17–20.

38 *EM*, 43/1 (1732), between pp. 296–297.

39 *EM*, 43/1 (1732), p. 298. The *EM* only includes the editors' initials on its title pages, in these years 'J.H.', which most probably correspond with Johannes Haverkamp.



FIGURE 25 Frontispiece of the *Europische Mercurius* 43/1 (1732), with in the right corner below a pole damaged by shipworms. The frontispiece's central figure is Mercury. He presents—as the messenger of the gods—news about Mediterranean affairs to Princess Europa who sits on Zeus in the form of a white bull. UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN LIBRARY, THE NETHERLANDS (PHOTOGRAPH DIRK FENNEMA, HAREN, THE NETHERLANDS)

been soothing to readers concerned by the epidemic. It also suggests that it was possible to criticise the responsible public bodies openly by August 1732.

In his first 1732 appendix, the digest's editor did not wish to participate in the discussion about shipworm's origin, as he argued this would lead to pointless speculation. At that moment, he considered as a sure reason only that God was



FIGURE 26 Fold-out in *Europische Mercurius* 43/1 (1732), between pp. 296–297, representing oak tree poles affected by shipworm
UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN LIBRARY, THE NETHERLANDS (PHOTOGRAPH DIRK FENNEMA, HAREN, THE NETHERLANDS)

threatening the Dutch population because of its increasing sinfulness. However, in his second 1732 appendix, the editor revised his views in a comment on an article on shipworm that had been published in a German newspaper. The shipworm could not be God's punishment for any specific sins as people always sinned, and thus God would always have a reason to punish them. Furthermore, the then topical 'sin' of sodomy could not be the cause of shipworm as the Dutch authorities had already severely and successfully prosecuted many sodomites in previous years. In other words, God should rather have exhibited mercy towards the Dutch Republic instead of punishing the country.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ *EM*, 43/1 (1732), p. 299; 43/2 (1732), pp. 308–311. The editor refers to the 8 November 1732 issue of the semiweekly Cologne newspaper *Historisches Journal*, published by Friedrich Albert Her(c)kenrath. Jürgen Blunck, *Die Kölner Zeitungen und Zeitschriften vor 1814: Eine Bibliographie mit Standortnachweis* (Münster: Verlag C.J. Fahle, 1966), p. 25. Thanks to Bernd Klesmann for this reference. The mercury's account also states that an engraving, showing the supposed collapse of the Amsterdam houses, was sold in the German city of Hanover.

Demonstrating this opinion definitely antagonized the ministers who had preached the opposite.

Finally, the appendices also included the text of a dike reconstruction project as proposed by Drechterland Water Board secretary Seger Lakenman, and a shortened version of a treatise about shipworm itself, written by physician Cornelius Belkmeer.⁴¹ Overall, the *Europische Mercurius* functioned as an instructive news medium, offering adequate detail in combination with studied comment. Many readers would have appreciated this, as they would not have been able to find such information in contemporary newspapers.

3 Final Remarks

The coverage of the Dutch 1730s shipworm disaster fits into the pattern of limited media attention early on and, subsequently, a few peaks offering more information. The first peak was a rather modest one during the summer of 1732, and the second, a bit more sizeable, but still a relatively unimpressive one, started in late 1732 and continued into the first months of 1733. Contemporary readers could not yet have extracted from the newspapers an ongoing account of the development of the infestation from its start in 1730, neither would they have been able to find opinions about the ways in which the problems could have been solved in those papers. For this, they needed other news media, in particular pamphlets and periodicals. Still, the newspapers functioned as messengers, as they included advertisements for the sale of other printed media on the disaster. This means that such advertisements were not only commercial messages but also had news value.

None of the Dutch news media reported on the shipworm infestation immediately upon its discovery; the first news items appeared only two years later. The news media followed the responsible authorities, who were the first to end the silence in this disaster, by appealing to Dutch citizens for solutions. In doing so, governmental institutions created a more open atmosphere to deal with the crisis, in which very divergent ideas could be expressed via a printed material. Furthermore, Dutch newspapers reacted to false, misleading and harmful news that had been published in foreign news media. This also took place during the second 'peak' of media attention when more had already become known about

⁴¹ *EM*, 43/2 (1732), pp. 285–304; 44/1 (1733), pp. 285–292 and 44/2 (1733), pp. 288–300. Belkmeer's complete text was published by J. Ratelband Heirs and Company with the title: *Natuurkundige verhandeling, of waarnemingne betreffende den hout-uytraspense en doorboorende zeeworm.*

shipworm, and at a time when several proposals concerning new sustainable sea defences were circulating. Although the ultimate effects of those plans were not yet clear, the Dutch audience must already have been calmed down in those months following their initial period of consternation.

The whole timespan of the shipworm tragedy has been characterized as “a shipworm psychosis”.⁴² So far, historiography has explained this mental state by connecting it with other concerns of the time: supposed economic decline, oligarchic corruption, and anxiety as a result of sodomite prosecutions and cattle plagues. These linkages are definitely useful, as they may help to understand specific contemporary reactions. However, this analysis shows that Dutch news media did not exaggerate the shipworm problem. On the contrary, they generally reacted rationally and concisely, and certainly not sensationally. Moreover, they did not report emotional or tense behaviour among the population. This leads to the impression that Dutch society was more resilient as regards the shipworm disaster of the 1730s than has hitherto been suggested.

42 This term is used by Han van der Horst, *Nederland: De vaderlandse geschiedenis van de prehistorie tot nu* (Amsterdam: Prometheus/Bert Bakker, 112013), p. 239.

The Varying Lives and Layers of Mid-Eighteenth-Century News Reports: the Example of the 1748 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in Dutch News Media*

In August 1744, Dutch newspapers advertised a new half-year volume of the news digest *Nederlandsch gedenkboek of Europische Mercurius*¹ [Dutch Chronicle or European Mercury], covering the period January–June 1744. Its Amsterdam publishers, Bernardus van Gerrevink and the Ratelband Heirs, recommended the edition as a work of great value because of “the circumstances of the time”. Their announcement also promoted the sale of previous volumes covering the period 1740–1743, by stating that those issues would provide “a complete history” of the years since Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI had passed away.² In February 1745, similar advertisements were placed in Dutch newspapers for the next half-year volume of the *Europische Mercurius*, concerning the period July–December 1744. In this case, the advertisement text continued with the phrase that previous volumes, dealing with the years from 1740, would give an account of all acts of war and state between the death of Emperor Charles VI and the moment his successor Charles VII had passed away.³ The last phrase should not be taken too literally since the emperor’s death, on January 20, 1745, would be reported in the succeeding volume that was still in the editor’s hands.⁴ However, when these advertisements were published in February 1745, potential buyers of the *Europische Mercurius* were

* This chapter was earlier published in *Media History*, 22/3–4 (2016), pp. 353–370.

1 The *Europische Mercurius* (*EM*) existed since 1690. In 1740, its name was changed to *Nederlandsch gedenkboek of Europische Mercurius*. As this news digest is best known under its original name, I will also use *Europische Mercurius* for volumes printed from 1740 onwards. On the *EM*: Joop W. Koopmans, ‘Storehouses of News: The Meaning of Early Modern News Periodicals in Western Europe’, in Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond and Jeroen Salman (eds.), *Not Dead Things: The Dissemination of Popular Print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500–1820* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 253–273, at pp. 262–264. For comments, I am grateful to Megan Williams.

2 *Leydse Courant* (*LeyC*) [Leiden Newspaper], August 10, 1744; *Amsterdamse Courant* (*AmC*) [Amsterdam Newspaper], August 13, 1744. For this article, most newspaper issues have been retrieved from the Dutch Royal Library site www.delpher.nl.

3 *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* (*OHC*) [Sincere Haarlem Newspaper], February 20, 23 and 25, 1745.

4 See *EM*, 56/1 (1745), pp. 91–92, 109–116.

already familiar with Charles VII's death as this occurrence had been reported in Dutch newspapers at the end of January. They undoubtedly grasped the intent of the publisher's marketing text.⁵

Advertisements of this kind suggest that the *Europische Mercurius* publishing company considered its news periodical series as a kind of reference tool presenting historical surveys about all kinds of topics, particularly if readers consulted several successive volumes dealing with those affairs. The difference between the content of news digests on the one hand and newspapers on the other was, of course, largely a consequence of their distinctive production processes. News digests differed from newspapers because the digests' editors had far more time to prepare and compose their issues than newspapermen, who had to edit the latest news reports into short messages within a few hours or days. News digest editors, on the other hand, could collect, select and transform chains of news reports about related topics into new, coherent accounts over a period of weeks or months, depending upon the frequency of their periodicals and the publication policies of their publishers. These editors often provided their narratives with contextual information and editorial remarks, a process which was time-consuming and therefore less feasible for newspapermen. Besides, commentary was rather unusual in early modern Dutch newspapers, which were not yet regarded as media for critical observations.⁶

Early modern news editors—of both newspapers and news digests—did not cite their sources on a regular basis. This impedes the exploration of contemporary news networks in which various types of news suppliers and correspondents functioned. Nevertheless, research on early modern news-gathering has demonstrated that copy-and-paste practices were very common. Many newspapers included reports with almost or even exactly the same content as had been published in other newspapers, aside from small differences in spelling and printer's errors. Translations of the same sources by different editors typically led to different versions, but even then the basic information generally remained the same.⁷

5 E.g. *AmC* and *OHC*, January 30, 1745.

6 This was the case until the 1780s. Marcel Broersma, 'Constructing Public Opinion: Dutch Newspapers on the Eve of a Revolution (1780–1795)' in Joop W. Koopmans (ed.), *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Leuven, Paris and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2005), pp. 219–235; Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know about Itself* (London: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 12, 313–314.

7 Recent publications about news networks and the gathering of news are, e.g. Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (eds.), *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Paul Arblaster, *From Ghent to Aix: How They Brought the News in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1550–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

So far, research about the transformation of early modern newspaper items and other news sources into news digest accounts and also contemporary historiography is scarce.⁸ However, scholars of media history have assumed that news digest editors summarized newspaper reports into their own accounts.⁹ During the sixteenth century, news reports were already also being used as sources for history books, as Silvia Serena Tschopp, for example, demonstrated in her study about Georg Kölderer's Augsburg chronicle, and Joad Raymond in his research about the relation between early English newsbooks and historiography concerning the English Civil War.¹⁰

The rarely demonstrated assumption about the subsequent lives of newspaper reports in news digests will be tested in this article by exploring the following questions: to what extent do early modern newspaper reports resemble the accounts in news digests? Furthermore, how were the digests' accounts integrated with other news sources, such as letters, pamphlets and official documents? In other words, this article will scrutinize similarities and differences in content and quality between newspapers and news digests. Moreover, it will assess the position of those digests between news media, which included chiefly topical information, and contemporary historiography.

Employing news about the 1748 conclusion of peace in Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) as an example, the subsequent reflections on these themes will focus on Dutch news media of the late 1740s. It can be argued that the signing of this treaty is a particularly suitable topic for this research. It took place in a period during which not only a substantial number of newspapers was published across the Dutch Republic, but also in an era in which several news periodicals appeared. Consequently, a solid comparative analysis can be made. Furthermore, since Aix-la-Chapelle was situated very close to the Dutch Republic, it can be assumed that Dutch newspapers would have used their own methods of

8 Cf. Daniel Bellingradt, 'Periodische Zeitung und akzidentielle Flugpublizistik: Zu den intertextuellen, interdependenten und intermedialen Momenten des frühneuzeitlichen Medienverbundes', in Volker Bauer and Holger Böning (eds.), *Die Entstehung des Zeitungswesen im 17. Jahrhundert: Ein neues Medium und seine Folgen für das Kommunikationssystem der Frühen Neuzeit* (Bremen: edition lumière, 2011), pp. 55–77.

9 E.g. Donald Haks, *Vaderland en vrede 1672–1713: Publiciteit over de Nederlandse Republiek in oorlog* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), pp. 45, 156–157, 176, 196–197, 224, 294.

10 Silvia Serena Tschopp, 'Wie aus Nachrichten Geschichte wird: Die Bedeutung publizistischer Quellen für die Augsburger Chronik des Georg Kölderer', in Gerhild Scholz Williams and William Layher (eds.), *Consuming News: Newspapers and Print Culture in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008), pp. 33–78 [*Daphnis* 37, no. 1–2 (2008)]; Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641–1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), pp. 269–313.

news-gathering for the fast coverage of the peace conclusion instead of copying the news about this occurrence from foreign newspapers or other Dutch newspapers. A close comparative examination of these newspapers will lead to a better insight into their functioning.

The article will first analyze reports of the Peace in newspapers and then compare their reports with those in news periodicals. Subsequently, these news digests—and in particular the *Europische Mercurius* as the most established news digest of the time—will be situated between the newspapers and contemporary historiography.

1 The 1748 Peace in Dutch Newspapers

On October 18, 1748, in the German city of Aix-la-Chapelle, representatives of Great Britain, France and the Dutch Republic signed a treaty that marked the end of the War of the Austrian Succession. It was a joyful event for the Dutch Republic, ending an anxious period for the country after its invasion by France. The conflict had begun in 1740 when Prussia's King Frederick II had disregarded the so-called Pragmatic Sanction by conquering the Habsburg territory of Silesia. Emperor Charles VI had issued this edict in 1713 to ensure that his daughter Maria Theresa would govern all the Austrian Habsburg hereditary lands after his death. As usual in European international politics of the time, other countries had become involved in the conflict as a result of alliances and obligations. The Dutch Republic stood on the side of Austria, together with Great Britain and Russia, fighting against France, Prussia, Spain and Bavaria. During the 1748 peace negotiations, Great Britain and France appeared to lead; they could dictate the outcomes, such as Austria's loss of Silesia.¹¹

In 1748, the Dutch Republic had eight long-running newspapers in the Dutch language. They were published in the Holland cities of Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden, The Hague, Delft and Rotterdam,¹² and, outside the province of Holland, in the cities of Utrecht and Groningen.¹³ None of the 1748 Dutch newspa-

11 Heinz Duchhardt, 'Die Niederlande und der Aachener Friede (1748)', in Simon Groenveld, Maurits Ebben and Raymond Fagel (eds.), *Tussen Munster & Aken: De Nederlandse Republiek als grote mogendheid (1648–1748)* (Maastricht: Shaker, 2005), pp. 67–73; Matthew S. Anderson, *The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748* (London: Longman, 1995) and Reed Browning, *The War of the Austrian Succession* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).

12 For this case, copies of the *Rotterdamse Courant* (RoC) that are present in Stadsarchief Rotterdam have been used, as they were not available via www.delpher.nl.

13 Maarten Schneider (and Joan Hemels), *De Nederlandse krant 1618–1978: Van 'nieuwstydighe' tot dagblad* (Baarn: Het Wereldvenster, 1979), pp. 51–54.

pers was yet a daily. However, by taking their different publication schemes into account, it becomes clear that newspaper issues were published in the Republic on all working days. The Hague, Leiden and Utrecht newspapers appeared on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays; the Amsterdam, Haarlem, Rotterdam and Delft newspapers on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays; and the Groningen newspaper only on Tuesdays and Fridays.

Although postal services and transportation between Dutch cities functioned exceptionally well by eighteenth-century European standards, it took at least a few hours from the publication of a newspaper issue before that issue could reach the nearest competitor's desk. This meant that it was impossible to copy news items from Dutch newspapers and publish those items in other Dutch newspapers that appeared at the same day, and on most occasions also the next day. This also implies that when, for instance, the Friday and Saturday issues of different newspapers contained almost exactly the same news content about a topic, those items were derived from the same sources or news suppliers.

Having the advantages of a Monday issue and publication nearby the Republic's governmental bodies, the *'s Gravenhaegse Courant* [The Hague Newspaper] was the first Dutch newspaper to mention the conclusion of peace, in a "P[ost] S[criptum]" in its October 21, 1748 issue. On the previous day, between 6 and 7 pm, Major-General Charles Sturier, coming from Aix-la-Chapelle, had informed the Dutch States General and Stadtholder William IV that peace had been concluded on Friday the 18th at 2 pm. The *Rotterdamse Courant* [Rotterdam Newspaper] published the same information in its October 22 issue, yet without the name of the major-general.

The detailed description of the courier and his entourage in the Hague newspaper, perhaps coming from an eyewitness who had seen them, suggests accuracy. However, the October 23 issue of the *'s Gravenhaegse Courant* rectified the messenger's name. Not Sturier but Hendrik Tulleken had brought the "cheerful news".¹⁴ Corrections of this kind and also the mentioning of not only dates but even hours of specific events are obvious indications that newspaper editors were aware of the fact that they had to publish precise information. This was perhaps the reason why the Rotterdam editor left out Sturier's name, because he was not sure about it. Making too many mistakes in comparison with com-

14 Tulleken's (or 'Tulkens') name could already have been found in the October 22 issues of *OHC* and the city of Delft's newspaper *Hollandsche Historische Courant* (*ННС*) [Holland Historical Newspaper].

petitors could lead to loss of prestige and sales.¹⁵ On the other hand, newspaper readers were familiar with differences and inconsistencies between news reports. Intelligent readers knew that many news items were based on hearsay and non-official statements.¹⁶

The newspapers' confusion about when the Peace had been signed is another example of inconsistencies as a result of editors' hastiness or incorrect sources. Several Dutch newspapers mentioned the same time as the *'s Gravenhaegse Courant*, while a few competitors stated that the Peace had been concluded between October 17 and 18, at midnight. The October 24 Haarlem newspaper implicitly clarified the confusion about the time. Although everything had been arranged for signing the treaty during the night, the ceremony had been postponed due to the illness of the French plenipotentiary. The next afternoon the English and Dutch representatives had visited their French colleague, who had signed while lying in his bed. The *Oprechte Groninger Courant* [Sincere Groningen Newspaper] did not yet treat the Peace in her October 22 edition, but did so in the subsequent October 25 issue. This demonstrates that it took more time to send tidings from Aix-la-Chapelle to Groningen than to the western part of the country.

Although the final treaty text of Aix-la-Chapelle was not yet known at the end of October, Dutch newspapers could by then publish an abstract of the preamble and 24 articles. The newspapers of The Hague and Leiden were the first Dutch newspapers with this information, published in their October 25 editions. The Hague editor included all articles, using for this nearly half of the edition's two pages. The Leiden editor made a smaller selection. The Amsterdam, Haarlem, Rotterdam and Delft newspapers, however, published the same selection of articles as the *'s Gravenhaegse Courant* in their October 26 editions, as did the Groningen newspaper on October 29.¹⁷

By contrast to news digests, in which many extensive documents were included, the publication of long texts such as the provisional 1748 treaty was rather exceptional for newspapers of the time. This restricted the inclusion

15 Cf. Michiel van Groesen, 'Reading Newspapers in the Dutch Golden Age', *Media History*, 22 (2016), pp. 334–352.

16 Marcel Broersma, 'A Daily Truth: The Persuasive Power of Early Modern Newspapers', in Joop W. Koopmans and Nils Holger Petersen (eds.), *Commonplace Culture in Western Europe in the Early Modern Period, 111: Legitimation of Authority* (Leuven, Paris and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2011), pp. 19–34.

17 The *Utrechtse Courant* (UC) [Utrecht Newspaper] did not publish any articles at all. The site www.delpher.nl only includes UC, October 21, 23 and 25 issues. Other October and November 1748 issues of this newspaper have been consulted in Het Utrechts Archief.

of many other news items, since it was unusual to extend eighteenth-century newspapers with additional pages. On some occasions long documents gave rise to an extraordinary edition published between ordinary issues, which was only possible, of course, when printers' capacities were sufficient. The fact that most Dutch newspaper editors decided to include the provisional treaty text in their ordinary editions underlines the topic's importance. They undoubtedly satisfied their readers' curiosity about the agreements, which were crucial for Europe's political future.

In addition, the author quoted in the *'s Gravenhaegse Courant* assured readers that his summary of the provisional treaty was truthful. This suggests that he had been able to obtain leaked documentation. The Hague editor published the information under the heading of the Netherlands with his own city in the dateline, which is an indication that he had acquired the treaty in his own city. The Leiden editor, however, published the articles under the heading of Germany, with Aix-la-Chapelle in the dateline. This suggests that he had received his information directly from a correspondent on the spot. It is noteworthy that the Leiden editor also introduced his selection with the affirmation that it was derived from a reliable source. All such phrases indicate that correspondents and editors thought it necessary to convince readers of the truthfulness of their news.

The exchange of the ratified final treaty documents happened earlier than the October 24 Delft newspaper had expected: on the morning of November 18, notably in silence.¹⁸ It was reported in the Dutch newspapers between November 22 and 26, 1748. In this case, the *Leydse Courant* was the first newspaper to mention the event, thus not The Hague's newspaper. The author of the news message considered it truthful since it was also reported that all involved delegates would leave the city on November 19 or 20—in other words, the exchange had taken place. Most newspapers added that the meager ceremony had disappointed the city of Aix-la-Chapelle, which had decorated its city hall lavishly for this purpose, but all for nothing.¹⁹

From our present-day perspective, it is curious that several newspaper editions reporting the peace conclusion also included news items of earlier dates in which the signing of the peace was not yet at stake. Eighteenth-century

18 *HHC*, October 24, had expected that ratification of the peace treaty would be ready by the end of the year, when the centennial of the Peace of Westphalia (1648) would also be celebrated.

19 *RoC* and *OHC*, both November 23 and 26, 1748; *UC*, November 25, 1748; *'s Gravenhaegse Courant* (*'sGC*), November 25 and 27, 1748; *Opregte Groninger Courant* (*OGrC*), *AmC* and *HHC*, November 26, 1748.

newspaper readers, however, were used to such inconsistencies, which were difficult to avoid in the managing of a newspaper. Early modern newspapers were by definition collections of reports of events that had happened far away and weeks or months earlier, and of events from nearby that had happened a mere one or two days earlier.²⁰

2 The 1748 Peace in Dutch News Digests

Being a monthly news digest, the *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken* [Dutch Annuals] was one of the first Dutch news periodicals of the time to pay attention to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in its November 1748 issue.²¹ This news digest was a project of the Amsterdam Mennonite publisher Frans Houttuyn. He had started his annals in the previous year, with the aim of focusing on domestic news.²² Although the unknown editor—perhaps Houttuyn himself—classed most of the selected news items in sections with the geographical captions of Dutch provinces, in this case he opened the issue with the peace news directly after the specification of the publication's month and year.²³ This indicates that he regarded the topic as one belonging to a national framework, even exceeding in importance compared to the other news from the States General—items that he usually classed under the section of Holland.

After a short introduction the editor prefaced his reflections on the Peace by first referring to several documents resulting from the negotiations. He quoted, for instance, a text that the envoys of France, Great Britain and the Dutch Republic had secretly signed in Aix-la-Chapelle on April 30, 1748.²⁴ Readers

20 See, e.g. Joop W. Koopmans, 'Supply and Speed of Foreign News to the Netherlands during the Eighteenth Century: A Comparison of Newspapers in Haarlem and Groningen', in idem (ed.), *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Leuven, Paris, Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2005), pp. 185–201.

21 I have not yet been able to find advertisements for this issue in newspapers, but the previous (October) issue was announced (in 'sGC, November 1, 1748) as available on November 4, 1748. This suggests a fast production scheme at that moment, though this was not always the case.

22 *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken* (NJ), 1/1 (1747): 'Voorbericht' (Introduction); Keith L. Sprunger, 'Frans Houttuyn, Amsterdam Bookseller: Preaching, Publishing and the Mennonite Enlightenment', *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 78 (2004), pp. 165–184. Thanks to Rietje van Vliet for consulting her entry about this periodical, to be published in *Encyclopedie Nederlandstalige tijdschriften* <https://enti815.wordpress.com/>.

23 NJ, 2/2 (1748), p. 1055.

24 Ibidem, pp. 1055–1056.

of the *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*—and many other news digests—could easily follow the editor’s introductory and concluding remarks since they were published in a larger font than the documents.²⁵ Only after five documents, the publication of which required almost 10 pages (in great octavo), did the editor reach October 18, the day on which the final peace treaty had been signed. He did not present details about the procedures, the details of which had already been published in the newspapers, but immediately continued with the content of the final treaty, published over the next 18 pages. Subsequently he concluded his article, with several additional documents from other involved belligerents.²⁶

With the publication of relevant documents the editor hoped to bring his audience to understand why the negotiations had taken so long. Furthermore, he expected that the documents could function as a model for “posterity.”²⁷ This means that he considered his news digest as a medium of longer-lasting value than newspapers, and as perhaps comparable to the *Europische Mercurius*. He did not mention, however, that in order to survey events chronologically, posterity should combine these documents with documents that the news digest had already published earlier.²⁸ Although the November issue gives the impression that the editor had waited with the publication of several texts in order to present an overview, his working method seems to have been less well considered and systematic than he pretended in his editorial remarks. Just as with newspaper editors, he appears to have had the journalistic attitude of publishing information as soon as possible after he had gathered it. In any event, the editor concluded his commentary with a sentence about the exchange of the ratified texts in the night of November 16 and 17, instead of on the morning of November 18, as had been mentioned in the newspapers.²⁹

A second difference with Dutch newspapers was the insertion of a long “vredezang” (peace song) and an engraving with the goddess of Peace as the central

25 Quotes within the editor’s text were made visible with a quotation mark at the beginning of each line of the quote.

26 Ibidem, pp. 1065–1081. Readers were not solely dependent on the news media for the Dutch version of the final peace treaty text, since this document had also been published separately by the Middelburg printer Anthony de Winter. Its Dutch title: *Generale en definitive vreedetractaat gesloten tot Aaken den 18 October 1748 tussen de volgende mogentheden*. Other Dutch (news) pamphlets about the conclusion of peace—except for several commemorative poems (e.g. of J. Lagendaals, G. Muyser and G. Toon)—are thus far unknown.

27 Ibidem, pp. 1058–1059.

28 See, e.g. the July issue of *NJ*, 2/2 (1748), pp. 575–583.

29 Ibidem, pp. 1081–1085.

figure, made by the Amsterdam engraver Simon Fokke (see Figure 27).³⁰ The editor hoped to please his audience with the anonymously published poem, which he said had been sent to him—an interesting indication of reader participation, which the *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken* much stimulated. Early modern Dutch newspapers sometimes included short poems related to topical events, but almost never had illustrations since their production time was too short to allow for this. The *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken* rarely published illustrations, which also indicates that its publisher wished to stress the importance of the news of the peace conclusion as a newsworthy event.

The information in the *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken* differed from the newspaper reports because this digest was mainly focused on the publication of documents with only short connecting remarks. This also applied to the monthly periodical *De Groninger Nouvellist* [The Groningen Chronicler], but to a lesser extent. The Groningen publisher Jacobus Sipkes and his editor Nathan Remkes had started this digest in 1745 with the aim of publishing political news and commentary that could not be printed in their *Oprechte Groninger Courant*, since this newspaper was checked by the city government before publication.³¹ The result was a digest that was more critical than the *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, with more editorial information, and in which Remkes' use of his own newspaper reports for this text was visible. The account about the conclusion of peace in the *Oprechte Groninger Courant* of October 25, 1748, for instance, was almost identically worded in *De Groninger Nouvellist* of October 1748.³² In this issue, however, Remkes did not reproduce the preliminary 24 articles that had been published in his own and in other Dutch newspapers. He explained that he preferred to wait for the final treaty text. Since the articles as they had been hitherto published in the newspapers were not yet complete, he could not properly reflect on them.³³ With such a remark he dissociated him from his own newspaper. Remkes kept his promise: the *Groninger Nouvellist*'s November issue was almost entirely filled with the text of the treaty, which, according to him, he had translated himself from the

30 Ibidem, pp. 1085–1089; Leontine Buijnsters-Smets, 'Simon Fokke (1712–1784) als boekillustrator', *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 4 (1985), pp. 127–146, at pp. 132, 136–137; see also <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.214524>. In 1749 Simon Fokke made another allegorical engraving concerning the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle: <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.214529>.

31 Harmjan Moes, "'Politique Reflexien en vrye gedagten" in de stad Groningen: De politieke pers in de 18e eeuw', *Historisch Jaarboek Groningen* (2005), pp. 7–25.

32 OGrC, October 25, 1748; *De Groninger Nouvellist* (DGN) (1748), p. 466.

33 DGN (1748), p. 470.



FIGURE 27 The Statue of Peace representing the 1748 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, with objects below referring to a prospering economy, agriculture, arts and sciences during peace time
 ENGRAVING BY SIMON FOKKE, PUBLISHED IN *NEDERLANDSCHE JAER-BOEKEN* 2 NO. 2 (1748): BETWEEN PP. 1088–1089. UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN LIBRARY, THE NETHERLANDS (PHOTOGRAPH DIRK FENNEMA, HAREN, THE NETHERLANDS)

French original. In his commentary published in the following issue, he was rather skeptical of the treaty's sustainability.³⁴

De Europise Staats-secretaris [The European State Secretary] was another monthly periodical paying an appreciable amount of attention to the 1748 conclusion of peace. It had been published since 1741 by the Haarlem publishers Izaak and Johannes Enschedé, who also managed the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*. They had started their news digest probably because they did not generate enough revenues from their newspaper in the first years after they had taken it over, in 1737.³⁵ The combination of publishing both a newspaper and a news digest was not new in Haarlem, since the Enschedés' predecessors Abraham Casteleyn and his wife Margaretha van Bancken had published both the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* and the *Hollandsche Mercurius* [Holland Mercury] in the period 1677–1690. It was, of course, attractive for publishers to generate money from collected news and documents that could not be included in their newspapers, or if they could at most in summarized forms.

In its October 1748 issue, *De Europise Staats-secretaris* discussed—in the section about Germany—several documents about the cumbersome diplomatic protocol that were intended to justify why the Aix-la-Chapelle negotiators had been so busy. The unknown editor commented cynically that the documents were poor excuses. Readers could find news about the announcement of the peace in The Hague in the editor's monthly journal that he included under the heading of the United Netherlands. In the same periodical he described Johannes Enschedé's unconventional strategy, on October 21, for convincing the many incredulous Haarlem citizens that the peace had been signed. The publisher had exhibited four translucent illuminated "decorations" painted by Frisian artist Taco Jelgersma at the entrance of his building, showing, among other things, symbols of liberty, peace and truth.³⁶ He had organized this spectacle immediately after his fellow citizens had heard the peace news in their city in the morning, and thus the day before his next newspaper edition would

34 Ibidem, pp. 560–596.

35 From 1743 the Haarlem newspaper seems to have been profitable again. Dirk H. Couvée, 'The Administration of the "Oprechte Haerlemse Courant" 1738–1742', *Gazette: International Journal of the Science of the Press etc.*, 4 (1958), pp. 91–110, at pp. 91–94.

36 The "Decoratien"—their fate is unclear—also showed busts of the Orange-Nassau stadtholders and the local heroine Kenau Simons Hasselaar, and the coat of arms of the belligerent countries. According to the Netherlands Institute for Art History (<https://rkd.nl/explore/artists/42149>), Taco Hayo (or Tako Hajo) Jelgersma (from Harlingen; 1702–1795) was active in Haarlem from 1752 (when he joined the Guild of St. Luke). This news account seems to confirm that he was already working in this city at least in 1748.

be ready—a superb example of marketing the news locally. The paintings must already have been available, of course, probably in Enschedé's building or in the painter's residence.

The news digest's editor made impressive descriptions of the paintings for his readers. He explained that the mirror in one of the paintings should be seen as an allusion to “the diffusion of news regarding the current events by the weekly papers, and the recollection of the most important occurrences by the *Monthly* [sic] *Europise Staats Secretaris*”—an artificial interpretation that smacks of immodest self-fashioning. Unlike the *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken* and the *Groninger Nouvellist*, Enschedé's digest published both the 24 preliminary articles (in October) and the text of the final treaty (in November).³⁷ Overall, the Haarlem digest's style was critical and ironical; it was, at any rate, no copy of the concise newspaper accounts.

Since the *Europische Mercurius* was published only twice a year, readers had to wait until March 1749 before they could buy the volume in which the 1748 conclusion of peace news was reported.³⁸ Its editor, indicated on this news digest's title page only by the initials A.L., opened his October 1748 section with the news about Aix-la-Chapelle under the heading of Germany.³⁹ It contains an orderly story of one page (in quarto) about what had happened in this city on October 18, without the confusion about the signature time as had been the case in the first newspaper reports. During the morning the English and Dutch representatives had deliberated with the “nauseous” French representative. They had also spoken with Austria's representative, before returning to the French envoy, who could not visit the Dutch residence because of his illness. All signatures had been obtained before 3 pm, after which couriers had been sent to the cities of Fontainebleau, Hanover, The Hague, London and Berlin. The Dutch delegation had offered a dinner to all persons involved.⁴⁰

This summary was not much different from the information that the newspapers had earlier offered in fragmentary form. Nevertheless, a few differences from the newspaper reports emerge when we compare them with the Euro-

37 *De Europise Staats-secretaris* (1748), pp. 1123–1131, 1202, 1204–1216, 1274–1307 (in octavo). Used (rare) copy: Noord-Hollands Archief in Haarlem, the Netherlands.

38 This volume was announced in *AMC*, March 8, 1749.

39 A.L. may have been Abraham George Luiscius, a lawyer and Dutch envoy in Prussia. Luiscius published the *Algemeen historisch, geographisch en genealogisch woordenboek* (8 vols.; General historical, geographical and genealogical dictionary; 1724–1737), which indicates that he was capable of also composing a news digest. Thanks to Kees van Strien for this suggestion.

40 *EM*, 59/2 (1748), p. 222.

pean Mercury's other pages related to the peace conclusion. The first is that the digest opens the account with an introduction in which the editor praises God extensively. The Almighty had helped the Dutch population, which had lost no grain of sand of its territory. With these words the author implicitly referred to the 1747 French invasion in the Dutch Republic that had been reversed in the peace treaty. They illustrate the digest's reflexive character.

A second difference concerns a date mistake in the digest. Just as some newspaper reports had done before, the Mercury's editor combined the announcement of the peace treaty with the preceding topic about the celebration of the Empress' Name Day. However, he mentions the date of October 13. In this case, the newspapers had been correct in mentioning October 15 as Maria Theresa's Name Day.⁴¹ This mistake makes clear that the news digests' information was not necessarily better than the rapidly produced content of newspapers.

Also different from the newspapers is the Mercury's continuation, with the publication of a protest against the conclusion of peace by James the Pretender, the son of the deposed King of England and Scotland James II. According to the Mercury's editor this protest had been utterly pointless.⁴² A fourth difference from the newspapers is the rather logical fact that the Mercury's editor published the final peace treaty text, instead of the provisional 24 articles, which had not yet been available for the newspapers at the end of October.⁴³ Finally, it has to be remarked that the *Europische Mercurius* also presented the exchange of the ratified texts as taking place in the night of November 16 and 17.⁴⁴

Although the *Europische Mercurius* often included illustrations, the second 1748 half-year volume did not have an engraving related to the conclusion of peace. Since the Mercury's annual frontispiece was only reserved for the first half-year volumes, it was not possible to use this type of engraving for depicting the topic in the year of the peace conclusion itself. However, the Mercury's 1749 frontispiece—made by Simon Fokke's teacher Jan Caspar Philips—compensated for this, by showing the goddess of Peace offering bay leaves, on account of Aix-la-Chapelle (see Figure 28). She offered those leaves to Dutch Liberty, who had by then been sitting on her throne for a century, according

41 Cf. *EM*, 59/2 (1748), p. 220, and, e.g. *AmC*, *OHC* and *OGrC*, October 22, 1748. October 15, was also reported in other Dutch newspapers, e.g. *'sGC*, October 9, 1748 and *LeyC*, October 11, 1748.

42 *EM*, 59/2 (1748), p. 221. This protest had also been published in the periodical *Groningen Nouvellist* of 1748 (announcement of this issue in *OGrC*, October 1 and 4, 1748).

43 *EM*, 59/2 (1748), pp. 222–238.

44 *Ibidem*, p. 268.



FIGURE 28 Frontispiece of the 1749 *Europische Mercurius* volume, showing Dutch Liberty, who receives bay leaves from the goddess of Peace because of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. A few putti hold a picture of the building that was used for the fireworks in The Hague that celebrated the 1748 peace.

ENGRAVING BY JAN CASPAR PHILIPS. UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN LIBRARY, THE NETHERLANDS (PHOTOGRAPH DIRK FENNEMA, HAREN, THE NETHERLANDS)

to the rhyme that explained the frontispiece in the same volume. With this image the engraving also referred to the 1648 Peace of Münster, the centennial of which had been celebrated in 1748.

The allegorical character of the two engravings mentioned above demonstrates that early modern artists were challenged to depict abstract notions such as peace and prosperity. Educated contemporaries were familiar with the images that represented such news topics. They could also buy such news prints separately. In December 1748, for instance, publisher Pieter Schenk announced in the newspapers the sale of the imaginative engraving allegorizing on the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle made by Pieter van den Berge.⁴⁵

3 News Digests between Newspapers and Historiography

Newspapers have always been disposable items, not easy to store in paper format. Whoever wanted to acquaint himself with recent history would need to turn to the much more convenient genre of news digests. Digests had the format of books that could be easily preserved in libraries on shelves. Because of this simple reason alone, they were more suitable than newspapers for reading old news reports. This also explains why we can retrieve advertisements for old copies of news digests—as mentioned in this article's introduction—but never for old series of newspapers. Moreover, most digests' editors could manage the news better than newspapermen by making good summaries without the mistakes resulting from incorrect, early rumors, and by including indices in their works, which helped readers to locate information.

In short, news digests gave a second life to old news reports, storing them for later generations. For this next life the reports were re-edited using the latest state of affairs and knowledge. The 1748 case shows that in digests, newspapers' mistakes and false rumors were removed as far as possible, while newly available documents were added. Nevertheless, this re-editing process did not yet give news digests the status of proper history. They remained bound to the relatively short periods about which they reported. In internationally oriented Dutch digests, the news was presented in the same layout as in most newspapers: under the names of the states with which they were connected. Moreover, digests still dealt with many contemporary topics for which the outcomes were not yet clear. It is true that they reflected on the news with more distance than

45 <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.482109> (announced in, e.g. *LeyC*, December 18, 1748).

newspapers did, albeit with less distance than the audience could expect in historiographical material. They also had shortcomings.

The position of news digests between newspapers and historiography can be illustrated by the attitude of digests' editors towards newspapers. Although editors must have used them extensively for making their summaries, they did not explicitly refer to newspaper reports in their accounts, and pretended to have made their own syntheses. Aside from the genre's conventions concerning explanation of sources, a plausible reason why the editors preferred not to mention newspapers as a source might be that they wished to uphold the notion that their work was of better quality than the newspapers.

However, the results of a simple search action in the digitized *Europische Mercurius* volumes of the late 1740s with the Dutch words 'courant' and 'couranten' (coranto[s] or newspaper[s]) confirm that digests' editors did not completely ignore newspapers in their accounts. In his 1747 volume, for instance, the European Mercury's editor presents a story in which phrases from a news item in the *Leydse Courant* are quoted.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the 1748 volume includes corrections to a false message printed in many Dutch newspapers, which the digest's editor states had been published in the 's *Gravenhaegse Courant* by order of Stadtholder William IV.⁴⁷

A date mistake in the 1749 volume of the *Europische Mercurius* almost surely reveals that this digest's editor really used newspaper reports as sources for his own summaries. The inaccuracy concerns the date of the fireworks organized in The Hague to celebrate the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in June 1749. The digest mentions the date of June 17, while the fireworks had taken place on June 13, a date that readers even could find in the caption on the engraving on the foldout next to one of the digest's subsequent pages.⁴⁸ Several Dutch newspapers—those of Amsterdam, Haarlem, Delft and Groningen—had reported on the June 13 fireworks in their issues of June 17. It seems quite reasonable that the digest's editor confused the dates when he consulted one of those newspapers.⁴⁹

46 *EM*, 58/1 (1747), p. 201. Cf. *LeyC*, May 1, 1747.

47 *EM*, 59/1 (1748), pp. 282–283. Cf. 'sGC, May 24, 1748. This correction was also published in *AmC*, *HHC* and *OHC*, May 25, 1748, and *LeyC*, May 31, 1748. The Leiden newspaper is mentioned again in the digest's 1750 volume, in this case because of an advertisement from the city of Leeuwarden concerning a competition about stimulating science and the arts in the Republic. *EM*, 61/2 (1750), p. 234. Cf. *LeyC*, July 1, 1750. Other issues in which Dutch newspapers are mentioned in *EM*, 59/1 (1748), pp. 297–299 and 60/2 (1749), p. 160.

48 *EM*, 60/1 (1749), p. 285 and foldout next to p. 292.

49 The newspapers of The Hague and Leiden reported about the fireworks in the June 16, 1749 issue.

It is also fairly certain that the news digest editors used foreign newspapers. The same search actions with the key words ‘courant’ and ‘couranten’ in the 1740s *Europische Mercurius* volumes, and also with the Dutch key words ‘papier’ (paper) and ‘papieren’ (papers), give rise to this idea. In his 1741 volume, for example, the digest’s editor quotes—although without presenting the exact titles—the English “Nieuw-Papieren” (Newspapers), which would have printed the English proverb ‘a strong attack is half the battle won’ within reports about rumors that England would be soon at war with France.⁵⁰ In 1746, the editor quoted a long passage from “de Fransche Courant van Parys” (the French newspaper of Paris), yet again without giving its French title.⁵¹ On a few occasions he used even more vague words such as “publicque buitenlandsche Nieuw-Papieren” (public foreign Newspapers) in his introductions to accounts or documents.⁵² Mentioning foreign newspapers as a source may have been a method to impress readers. With politically sensitive information, it could also be a way to avoid problems with the authorities. Editors implicitly defended themselves by showing that they had retrieved their information from public sources.

In his account about the course of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1743, the *Europische Mercurius* editor recalled that the “Courant der Stadt Parys” (the Newspaper of the City of Paris) had wrongly credited a victory to the French army on orders of the French court, although the Allied Forces had been victorious.⁵³ In this case, it is uncertain whether he had derived the news directly from the Parisian newspaper or from another source, such as a possible newsletter from a correspondent. Nevertheless, it is a nice example of contemporary reflection on the functioning of the early modern newspapers, in which governments tried to interfere for their own benefit. The clear message was: do not immediately believe what the enemy’s newspapers tell. At the same time, news digest editors positioned their digests as accurate and potential sources for historical writing.

The prominent Amsterdam historian Jan Wagenaar (1709–1773) was one of the eighteenth-century authors who frequently mentioned the *Europische Mercurius* in his notes. Although he did not refer to this news digest in his pages about the 1748 peace in the 20th volume of his *Vaderlandsche Historie* [National History],⁵⁴ he cited the Mercury in the same volume concerning other top-

50 *EM*, 52/2 (1741), p. 101. Other references to the English newspapers: pp. 218–219; 53/2 (1742), pp. 100–103; 54/1 (1743), p. 278 and 54/2, pp. 199–200; 59/2 (1748), p. 76.

51 *EM*, 56/1 (1746), pp. 95–96.

52 See, e.g. *EM*, 55/2 (1744), p. 116; 56/1 (1745), p. 56.

53 *EM*, 54/2 (1743), p. 28.

54 In this case, Wagenaar referred to not indicated ‘real sources, documents and notes’, and

ics,⁵⁵ and so did the historians who published additions to this volume at the end of the eighteenth century.⁵⁶ Leo Wessels counted 185 references to the *Europische Mercurius* in Wagenaar's multivolumed *Vaderlandsche Historie*. Wagenaar would have particularly appreciated the *Europische Mercurius* because of its abundance of "real" documents.⁵⁷

Historian and numismatist Gerard van Loon (1683–1758) was another Dutch author who frequently used the *Europische Mercurius* as a source, citing it for instance nearly 1400 times in the fourth volume of his *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen* [Description of the Dutch history medals]. Although Van Loon also lavishly referred to many other sources in this volume, which dealt with the period 1691–1716 and was published in 1731, this work shows that he regarded the *Europische Mercurius* as the most suitable source to put the medals in their—at that time, relatively recent—historical context. The jurist Pieter Boddaert (1694–1760) is an excellent example of a chronicler who referred to the *Europische Mercurius* because of its information about the Peace of 1748.⁵⁸ He did so in a volume of his *Hedendaagsche historie* [Contemporary History] that was published in 1753, so, only a few years after the *Mercury* had been published.

4 Final Remarks

The 1748 case treated in this article demonstrates that newspapers can be considered as a preliminary and news digests as a subsequent step in writing history. They show the different ways news was managed in early modern news media. The first category provided factual information ordered according to chronological principles, yet also including mistakes and rumors due to uncertainties and incorrect sources. Editors of the second category could avoid such

he derived the treaty from Jean Rousset de Missy's *Recueil historique etc.* Jan Wagenaar, *Vaderlandsche Historie, vervattende de Geschiedenissen der Vereenigde Nederlanden, inzonderheid die van Holland*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Wed. Isaak Tirion, 1770), pp. 244, 251.

55 Ibidem, pp. 12, 18. About Wagenaar and his work: Leo H.M. Wessels, *Bron, waarheid en de verandering der tijden: Jan Wagenaar (1709–1773), een historiografische studie* (The Hague: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1997).

56 Hendrik van Wijn (etc.). *Byvoegsels en aanmerkingen voor het twintigste deel der Vaderlandsche historie van Jan Wagenaar* (Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1796), pp. 35, 39, 40, 82, 107.

57 The *EM* was one of 15 periodicals in Wagenaar's library. Wessels, *Bron*, 169, p. 508.

58 [Pieter Boddaert], *Hedendaagsche historie, of tegenwoordige staat van alle volkeren etc.*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Isaak Tirion, 1753), p. 113.

failures—in which they not completely succeeded—and had more opportunities to put facts in perspective by providing commentary or critical remarks, and by including all kinds of documents. They could also take the liberty to write cynically, ironically and humorously, at least within the permissible boundaries. As regards the four news digests discussed above, this was most visible in *De Europise Staats-secretaris*, but the critical *Groninger Nouvellist* also proved to be a digest with a unique character.

A specific style was, of course, only one of the means that news digests' editors and publishers employed to attract readers. They also tried to make their mark by factors such as formats, layout, frequency and prices. Another distinctive feature was that news digests had the possibility to reflect on the news by including prints, which, in many occasions, were allegorical representations made by professionals, as has been demonstrated by the engravings in the *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken* and in the *Europische Mercurius*.

Since readers collected news digests in series, these media became—in contrast to newspapers and pamphlets—suitable sources for contemporary historians who wished to make references in their works to descriptions of relevant events and corresponding documents. The examples mentioned above suggest that of all the available Dutch news digests, historians considered the *Europische Mercurius* the most valuable or appropriate source for their references. This is not surprising, since the other digests were new in the 1740s. They lacked the Mercury's wide circulation and its strong reputation of reliability and sustainability, features which the Mercury had acquired over a period of several decades.

The 1755 Lisbon Earthquake and Tsunami in Dutch News Sources: the Functioning of Early Modern News Dissemination*

On Saturday 1 November 1755 the weather was tranquil in the Dutch city of Groningen.¹ Despite the calmness, around 11AM the water suddenly rose in the Groningen canals for a short time. Ships smashed against the quays, their lines snapped, and their masts hit each other. A leeboard of one of the ships was completely shattered. At the time, Groningen—one of the few important towns in the northeastern part of the Dutch Republic—still had an open connection with the North Sea, and so the Groningen population was used to different water levels in their canals, corresponding to the tides. This sudden rise of the water level, however, was very strange and could not be explained by the normal tides. The strange phenomenon must have been the talk of the town, the news of the day throughout the city. All eyewitnesses would have told it to their family members, to neighbours, and to other people who had not witnessed the event. During the following weeks, the Groningen population could see from the Dutch newspapers that their town was not unique in this respect. In many European cities the water had surged unexpectedly. But it was only near the end of the month that the Groningen inhabitants were informed as to why the water had suddenly risen. It was the result of a tsunami caused by the severe earthquake that had devastated Portugal's capital of Lisbon and its surroundings, a disaster that produced thousands of victims and incredible misery.²

In this chapter I will use the 1755 Lisbon earthquake and tsunami as a means to explore the dissemination of international news to the Dutch Republic in

* This chapter was earlier published in Simon F. Davies and Puck Fletcher (eds.), *News in Early Modern Europe: Currents and Connections* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), pp. 19–40.

1 This chapter is an extension of part of my Dutch article 'Groningen en het tempo van internationaal nieuws: Een vergelijking van kranten uit de 18e eeuw, toegespitst op berichten over de aardbeving en tsunami van Lissabon (1755)', *Historisch jaarboek Groningen* (2011), pp. 36–51. For comments and suggestions I am grateful to Raingard Esser, Will Slauter, and Megan Williams.

2 Recent studies about the Lisbon earthquake include Nicholas Shrady, *The Last Day: Wrath, Ruin, and Reason in the Great Lisbon Earthquake of 1755* (New York [etc.]: Viking, 2008); Edward Paice, *Wrath of God: The Great Lisbon Earthquake of 1755* (London: Quercus, 2008).

the mid-eighteenth century, addressing the following questions: what kind of news about the earthquake reached the Netherlands, and from or via which places? How did Dutch editors process the events in their news media, and which sources did they use? How did people react to news items, such as the Lisbon earthquake, that had happened far away and weeks or months before they could read about them? What did 'topicality' mean for these readers? In short, this chapter elaborates for eighteenth-century news media the idea of contemporaneity, a concept defined by Brendan Dooley as "the perception, shared by a number of human beings, of experiencing a particular event at more or less the same time."³ Furthermore, the Lisbon case offers insight into the working of European news networks, in this case stretching from the southwestern part of Europe to the Dutch Republic.

My chapter is mainly based on eighteenth-century Dutch news media, in particular newspapers in Dutch printed in November and December 1755. First, I will analyse how those news channels reported the catastrophic news to find out what people had known or guessed about the tsunami and earthquake, and when they received information with corresponding explanations. The subsequent section deals with aspects of early modern news dissemination in Europe, and discusses what sources Dutch newspaper editors may have used, and by which routes they received their information about the tidal waves and earthquake. The last section will consider a few consequences related to the speed of early modern news dissemination, such as speculation about the causes and effects of the sudden tidal surges at a time when news media could only guess about the reasons, people's reflection on the events and their channels for this reflection, and their awareness of contemporaneity. This chapter adds a Dutch dimension to the 2005 volume of Theodore Braun and John Radner about the Lisbon earthquake.⁴

3 Brendan Dooley (ed.), *Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), p. xiii.

4 Theodore E.D. Braun and John B. Radner (eds.), *The Lisbon Earthquake of 1755: Representations and reactions: SVEC 2005:02* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2005). The chapter in Braun and Radner by Anne Saada and Jean Sgard ('Tremblement dans la presse', pp. 208–234), which was on Dutch responses, only studied several French gazettes that were printed in the Netherlands.

1 Dutch News Media about the Tsunami and Earthquake

Groningen newspaper readers could read a short account about the 1 November tidal surge in their city in the Tuesday 4 November edition of their biweekly *Oprechte Groninger Courant* [Sincere Groningen Newspaper].⁵ The newspaper stated, “something happened last Saturday, of which there has been no example in this country for many centuries.”⁶ The report was combined with similar messages from villages near Groningen where similar surges had also occurred. Letters from Zwolle, a town located approximately a hundred kilometres southwest of Groningen, also mentioned ship damage in the city waters. Such news items could also be found in subsequent editions of the Groningen newspaper. The Friday 7 November edition, for example, reported the inexplicable water movements in many other parts of the Dutch Republic; chandeliers in churches had swayed spontaneously and church visitors—it was All Saints’ Day for Roman Catholics—had been frightened. The Groningen editor ended with the remark that many people thought these occurrences had been caused by a light earthquake, too weak to shake the ground in a way perceptible to human beings.⁷ This was implicitly corrected in a later edition, which reported that in the Zeeland capital of Middelburg, carpenters, while repairing the Abbey Tower, had become scared when the tower had started to shake unexpectedly. In the afternoon they had resumed their renovation activities with fear.⁸

Two weeks after the 1 November event the Groningen newspaper published the first messages from abroad, describing what had happened in the German North Sea harbour of Glückstadt (near Hamburg) and, more extensively, the Baltic Sea harbour of Travemünde (near Lübeck). In Travemünde a few men had thought for a while that the movement of the water had been caused by a big fish.⁹ The 18 November Groningen edition—almost three weeks after

5 Newspaper editions are only mentioned in footnotes when they or the dates of the discussed news items do not appear in the main text.

6 Quote in Dutch: “Van hier valt te melden dat voorleeden Zaturdag yets gebeurd is waar van hier te Lande geen Voorbeeld in veele Eeuwen geweest is[.]”

7 See also the *Oprechte Groninger Courant* (*OGC*), 11 November 1755 (consulted via <http://kranten.delfper.nl>). The *OGC* had started in 1743, with permission of the city government, as was necessary for all Dutch newspapers, and was also published on Fridays. Copius Hoitsema, *De drukkersgeslachten Sipkes-Hoitsema en de Groninger Courant* (Groningen: Verenigde Drukkerijen Hoitsema, 1953), pp. 80–84; Bart Tammeling, *De krant bekeken: De geschiedenis van de dagbladen in Groningen en Drenthe* (Groningen: Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, 1988), pp. 20–22.

8 *OGC*, 18 November 1755.

9 *OGC*, 14 November 1755.

the event had taken place—also included news about the rise of the water in the English harbour of Portsmouth, where HMS Gosport was under repair and had shaken tremendously in her dock. After having read such news items, the Groningen newspaper readers could combine these reports with their own experiences. In the meantime there was the possibility for them to read comparable news reports in other Dutch newspapers that were sold in Groningen or were brought to the city by visitors.

Since 1752, the Groningen newspaper's nearest 'competitor' was the *Leeuwarder Courant*, published in Friesland's capital of Leeuwarden.¹⁰ At the time the Frisian newspaper appeared once a week, on Saturday, and so the first news in this newspaper about the waves was published in the 8 November edition.¹¹ Like the Groningen newspaper, the *Leeuwarder Courant* started with information about the rise of the water nearby, in Leeuwarden and a few other Frisian towns, such as Franeker, where a horse had stampeded fearfully after confrontation with the rising water. One long sentence summarized messages from cities and villages all over the province of Holland where the water had risen:

In Amsterdam, Leiden, Delft, Haarlem, Rotterdam, Woubrugge, Boskoop, and several other places, people have noticed a motion in the water at the same time, and it is said that the chandeliers in several Amsterdam churches moved.¹²

This sentence taught the Frisian readers that the Holland population had experienced the same phenomenon as they had. The news about Travemünde was published in the subsequent edition of Saturday 15 November, thus almost simultaneously with the Groningen newspaper, which included the German news in the Friday edition of 14 November. On Saturday 22 November the Leeuwarden newspaper reported on Portsmouth and—without mentioning

10 Marcel Broersma, *Beschaafde vooruitgang: De wereld van de Leeuwarder Courant 1752–2002* (Leeuwarden: Friese Pers Boekerij, 2002); idem, 'Constructing Public Opinion: Dutch Newspapers on the Eve of a Revolution (1780–1795)', in Joop W. Koopmans (ed.), *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Leuven, Paris and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2005), pp. 219–235.

11 See www.archiefleeuwardercourant.nl. The *Leeuwarder Courant* (LC) still exists.

12 Quote in Dutch: "Te Amsterdam Leiden, Delft, Haarlem, Rotterdam, Woubrugge, Boskoop, en op andere Plaatzen meer, heeft men op die zelfde tyd zulk een ontroeringe in het Water bespeurd, en zo men wil, zouden te Amsterdam in verscheiden Kerken de Kroonen aan het bewegen geweest zyn." LC, 8 November 1755.

their names—"a few other English harbours." These messages had been picked up in Amsterdam almost a week before, on 14 November, according to the report's date. Below this piece of news, Frisian readers could also note that French Bordeaux had been hit by a brief earthquake on 1 November.

In 1755 most Dutch newspapers were printed in the densely populated province of Holland: in Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden, The Hague, Delft, and Rotterdam. The city of Utrecht also had its own newspaper. Most of these cities' newspapers, such as the *Amsterdamse Courant*, included information about the shaking of the water in their own towns and several places in other parts of Western Europe.¹³ A few of them reported the event only briefly. The *'s Gravenhaegse* [The Hague] *Courant* of Monday 3 November, for example, published a sober message of five lines about the trembling of the earth in The Hague, and four lines concerning Amsterdam. The newspaper mentioned The Hague, with 2 November in the dateline:

Yesterday morning people felt a small trembling of the earth, which was mostly noticed in the canals, where a few vessels' ropes became untied, but causing no further damage.¹⁴

Subsequent editions, however, remained silent about similar events in other Dutch and foreign regions. Even more surprisingly, the *Utrechtse Courant* did not publish a single word about the rise of water in its own city and province.¹⁵ On Friday 7 November, which was rather late, the Utrecht newspaper included a message about what had happened in Rotterdam—slightly different from a more extensive account in the *Rotterdamse Courant* of Tuesday 4 November.

13 See e.g. *Amsterdamse Courant* (AC; used copy Amsterdam City Archives), *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* (OHC; used copy: Museum Enschedé in Haarlem [now in Noord-Hollands Archief]) and *Hollandsche Historische Courant* (HHC; published in Delft—used copy Royal Library The Hague; thanks to Fernando Martínez Luna for his assistance), 4 November 1755. These three newspapers had editions on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.

14 Quote in Dutch: "Gisteren morgen heft men hier een kleyn schudding van een Aerdbeeving gevoeld, welkers beweeging het meest in de Gragten is geweest, zynde 'er eenige Vaertuygen van hunne Touwen afgeraekt, dog verders geen schade veroorzaakt." Used copy: The Hague Municipal Archives. The *'s Gravenhaegse Courant* (sGrC) had editions on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday.

15 Used copy: The Utrecht Archives. The *Utrechtse Courant* (UC) was published on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. Other newspapers show that the water had also risen in the province and city of Utrecht. See, e.g., OHC and HHC, 6 November 1755; *Leydse Courant* (LeyC), 7 November 1755; OGC, 11 November 1755. The *Gazette d'Utrecht* of 4 November 1755 mentioned a trembling of the earth in The Hague. Saada and Sgard, 'Tremblements', p. 210.

Furthermore, only Glückstadt was mentioned in the 12 November edition and Bordeaux in the 21 November edition of the Utrecht newspaper, so altogether only a small selection of news concerning the topic appeared in this coranto.¹⁶

In contrast to the newspapers of Utrecht and The Hague, the Rotterdam newspaper included the news about the trembling war ship in the Portsmouth docks in its edition of Thursday 13 November.¹⁷ As Rotterdam was a harbour city near the sea, it does not seem very peculiar that the Rotterdam newspaper paid more attention to the event than the newspapers of Utrecht and The Hague. Furthermore, it is logical that the Rotterdam newspaper published the English news earlier than other Dutch newspapers; most news accounts from England intended for the Dutch Republic left Harwich with the packet boat and entered the country at Hellevoetsluis near Rotterdam. From there they were disseminated to the rest of the Netherlands.¹⁸ Astonishingly, however, the *Leydse* [Leiden] *Courant* and the *Hollandsche Historische Courant*, which was published in Delft, published more news about the rising water in several Dutch cities and villages than the Rotterdam and also the Amsterdam newspaper did.¹⁹ Leiden and Delft were—like Utrecht and The Hague—not harbour cities. The Leiden and Delft editors, however, must have considered the topic an interesting one for their reading public, which they knew was found far outside their own cities.

Not before the end of the month did the Dutch newspapers present the real explanation for the sudden rise of the water in the Netherlands, preceded in most of the papers by very similar reports—same content and same structure—about an earthquake in Madrid.²⁰ Subsequently, between 26 and

16 The Amsterdam newspaper mentioned Lübeck in the 11 November edition; Bordeaux in the 22nd, just as the Haarlem and Delft (*HHC*) newspapers did; the Delft newspaper mentioned Glückstadt in the 13 November edition.

17 Used copy: Rotterdam City Archives. The *Rotterdamse Courant* (*RoC*) was published on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.

18 Jacob C. Overvoorde, *Geschiedenis van het postwezen in Nederland vóór 1795, met de voornaamste verbindingen met het buitenland* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1902), pp. 277–281. See also e.g. *sGrC*, 19 and 22 December 1755, in which letters that ‘have been seen in Rotterdam’ are quoted.

19 *LeyC*, 3 and 7 November 1755 (www.archiefleiden.nl:kranten). This newspaper had editions on Monday, Wednesday and Friday; *HHC*, 4, 6, 8, and 13 November 1755. There were reports about Portsmouth in *LeyC* on 12 and in *HHC* on 13 November 1755.

20 *sGrC* and *UC*, 24 November 1755; *OHC*, *HHC*, and *RoC*, 25 November; *LC*, 29 November. These reports vary between 72 and 95 words, and are similar to the report that was published in *La Gazette de Cologne*, quoted in Saada and Sgard, ‘Tremblements’, pp. 210–211. See appendix. A message in *AC*, 25 November, with dateline ‘Paris, 17 November’, contains the news that there had been an earthquake across Spain and Italy on the same day that the



FIGURE 29 Part of the front page of the Amsterdam newspaper of Thursday 27 November 1755, in which the first news about the Lisbon earthquake is published
COPY IN STADSARCHIEF AMSTERDAM (AMSTERDAM CITY ARCHIVES) (PHOTOGRAPH JOOP KOOPMANS)

29 November, editions of all Dutch newspapers informed their readers about the earthquake that had forcefully struck the Portuguese capital of Lisbon and its surroundings on 1 November.²¹ As is known today, it was an earthquake with an estimated strength of almost 9 in magnitude on the Richter scale, comparable with the Fukushima earthquake in Japan in March 2011. A terrifying tidal wave had accompanied the earthquake, and fires had destroyed most of the remaining parts of the city. The timespan of almost one month that it took this news from Portugal to reach the Dutch Republic, corresponds with average figures for the publication of Portuguese news in Dutch newspapers during the eighteenth century (see Figure 29).²²

movement of the water had happened in England, Bordeaux, Northern Germany, and almost all cities in the province of Holland. Also reported in *OGC*, 28 November 1755.

21 *sGrC*, 26 November 1755; *AC*, *OHC*, *HHC*, and *RoC*, 27 November; *LeyC* and *OGC*, 28 November; *LC*, 29 November.

22 Joop W. Koopmans, 'Supply and Speed of Foreign News to the Netherlands during the Eighteenth Century: A Comparison of Newspapers in Haarlem and Groningen', in *News and Politics*, pp. 185–201 (particularly Table 3).

As soon as the news about Lisbon reached the Dutch newspapers' printing presses, people were eager to read about the disaster, which was a rare and unusual topic for them. The chronicler Jan de Boer recorded that the 26 November edition of 's *Gravenhaegse Courant*, the first Dutch newspaper with the Lisbon news, immediately sold out. Curiosity was coupled with dismay and concern. When the merchants present at the Amsterdam stock exchange heard the tragic news, they were shocked and worried about the fate of their fellow merchants and merchandise in the Portuguese capital.²³

The Portuguese disaster must have taken the news editors by surprise. The Haarlem newspaper, for example, published the terrible news after an item on market reports that simply ended with: "no exchange rate from Lisbon." The readers had to conclude for themselves why Lisbon did not have an exchange rate listed, which they understood, of course, after having read the earthquake news.²⁴ During the next weeks, many news accounts followed about the huge devastation, the thousands of victims, the aftershocks, Portuguese attempts to control the disaster, and the aid from other countries, in particular Spain and Great Britain. With regard to the victims, many different figures were mentioned because nobody had any idea about how many people had died or survived.²⁵

Within the Portuguese stream of news items, the Delft and Groningen newspaper editors appeared to be the only two who made an explicit connection between the Lisbon calamity and the sudden tidal surges nearby that had happened four weeks before. In its 2 December issue the Groninger newspaper quoted:

In the meantime people may conclude from all these heartbreaking and tragic messages that the rise of the water, which people here and from all over the Netherlands have noticed on the first of this month, was a general phenomenon[.]²⁶

23 Jan Willem Buisman, 'Het bevend Nederland: De Republiek en de aardbeving van Lissabon 1755–1756', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 92 (1979), pp. 20–42, at 26–27. See also Saada and Sgard, 'Tremblements', p. 221; Jeroen Blaak, 'Informatie in een ander tijdperk: Nieuws in het dagboek van Jan de Boer (1747–1758)', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 25 (2002), pp. 57–69, at 64–66.

24 In his subsequent edition of 29 November, the Haarlem editor mentioned again 'no exchange rate from Lisbon', however this time with the addition that the news corresponded with letters of 28 October that had been sent before the earthquake.

25 E.g. *AC* and *RoC*, 27 November 1755; *LeyC*, 28 November 1755; *UC*, 10 December 1755; *AC*, 13 December 1755; *HHC*, 20 December 1755.

26 *HHC*, 29 November 1755. The Dutch (longer quote) in *OGC*, almost the same as in *HHC*:

Furthermore the editor concluded that God had spared the Netherlands.

The Amsterdam newspaper published an extra, one-page issue on Saturday 6 December, a so-called *Na-courant* [after newspaper], including an extensive account about the disaster that had been received and most likely dispersed in Paris. The Groningen newspaper published the same text in an extra edition on Monday 8 November.²⁷ There are only slight spelling differences between the two issues, which suggests either that both editors used the same translation, or that the Groningen editor copied the Amsterdam issue very early, as it took about a day to bring the report from Amsterdam to Groningen. Such extra editions were rather unusual and emphasized the great news value of the earthquake and its consequences. Apart from commercial reasons and the wish to deliver news as fast as possible, it has to be understood, of course, that an extra edition must have been a practical solution, at least for the Groningen publisher. Most early modern printing houses were limited in capacity and in the case of newspapers, did not have much scope beyond what was needed to realize the regular editions, and so the publisher or printer could only use his printing press for extra editions on days when it was already available (see Figure 30).

The Dutch obviously worried about the fate of compatriots who were in or nearby Lisbon at the time of the disaster. This is reflected in their newspapers, of which several published lists of ships and persons who had survived the disaster. As early as 29 November, the Haarlem newspaper, for instance, mentioned that the Dutch consul Jan Gildemeester and a few Dutch merchants were safe.²⁸ The same news item ended, however, with the remark that nothing was known about the situation of the other Dutch envoy in Lisbon, Jean François Bosc de la Calmette. After ten days the newspaper confirmed, even twice, that he was still alive. This was based on messages in private letters received

‘Ondertusschen kan men uyt alle deeze hertgrievende en naare berigten, besluyten, dat de Waterschuddingen die men den eersten passato hier en byna door geheel Nederland gevoeld heeft, algemeen geweest zy[n], en dat de Nederlanden door Gods Goedertierenheyd slegts een flauw gevoel en dreuning ondervonden hebben van de allerysselykste Aardbeeving, waardoor Lissabon is vernield geworden, en die zig langs de geheele Kust van Portugal en Spanjen tot aan Gibraltar heeft doen gevoelen.’

27 *De Voorlooper van de* [The Forerunner of the] *Groninger Dingsdaagsche* [Tuesday] *Courant*. These extra issues open with: ‘Paris, the first of December. Just now an extraordinary courier from Lisbon has brought the following truthful story about the miseries, which happened on the first of last month as a result of the terrible earthquake; (...)’ (In Dutch: ‘Parys, den eersten December. So even ontfangt men met een buitengewoon courier van Lissabon het volgende naauwkeurig verhaal der onheylen die den eersten der voorleeden Maand aldaar door de bewuste vreeslyke Aardbeeving zyn voorgevallen[.]’).

28 Also *LeyC*, 1 December 1755.

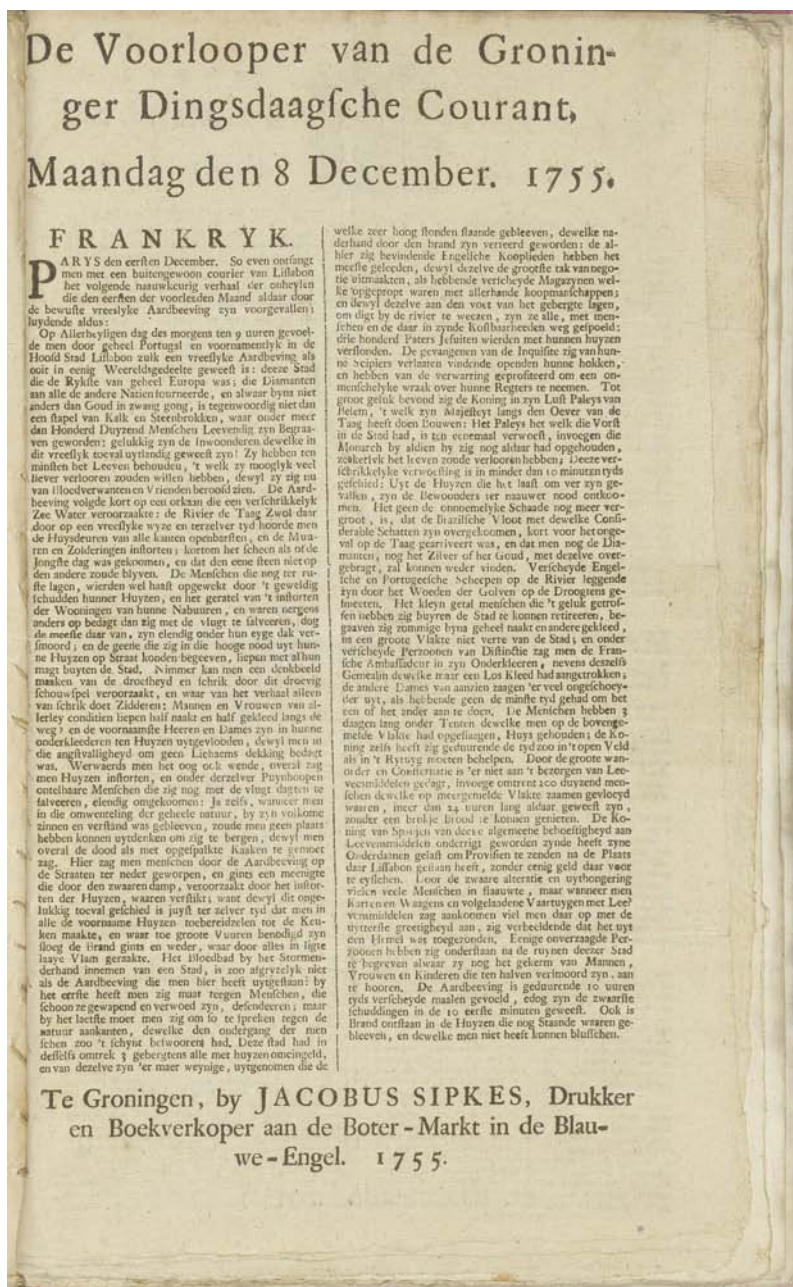


FIGURE 30 *De Voorlooper van de Groninger Dingsdaagsche Courant* [The Forerunner of the Groningen Tuesday Newspaper]
UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN LIBRARY, THE NETHERLANDS (PHOTOGRAPH DIRK FENNEMA, HAREN, THE NETHERLANDS)

from England and a letter of the diplomat himself.²⁹ In the meantime the Leiden newspaper had published the rumor that Bosc de La Calmette had not survived the disaster.³⁰ A similar tension was created, particularly for relatives and friends, by the Haarlem editor publishing a list of Dutch ships in the Lisbon harbour on 28 October in his 2 December edition, but a list of Dutch survivors only in the 9 December edition (presumably reflecting the timing of information reaching the editor himself).³¹ Although family members of seamen and merchants were used to waiting for long periods for signs of life, this must have been nerve-racking. Another Haarlem edition, and also a Delft one, explained, in a report from England, why above all many Protestant merchants had been saved; they had been outside Lisbon during the catastrophe as they wanted to avoid encounters with Portuguese Catholics who were celebrating All Saints' Day.³² This was a soothing message for Dutch Protestants.

Relying on the newspapers for information, the Dutch authorities and population did not immediately offer aid to the Portuguese victims of the disaster, such aid, of course, not being as easy to organize as it is today. The Dutch Estates-General publicly showed their compassion to the Portuguese king rather late compared with official reactions from several other European countries. This can probably be explained by the fact that it took a few weeks before contacts had been restored with the Dutch envoy in Lisbon.³³ Although envoy Bosc de la Calmette had to pass on the Dutch sympathy and an offer to help the Portuguese, his instructions do not seem to have been supported by everybody in the Protestant world. Within Protestant circles, the idea was transmitted that the Lisbon earthquake was God's punishment of the—in their opinion—"sinful Roman Catholic Portuguese citizens." It was alleged that it was not by chance that almost all Lisbon Protestants had been saved; they had been outside the city during All Saints' Day.³⁴

29 *OHC*, 9 December 1755; also *sGrC* and *LeyC*, 8 December 1755.

30 *LeyC*, 3 December 1755. On both diplomats' visit to the Portuguese king, see *LeyC*, 22 December 1755.

31 Other news items with names of merchants or ships: *AC*, 6, 9, and 13 December 1755; *LeyC*, 5, 8, 10, and 31 December 1755; *HHC*, 9 December; *LC*, 13 December 1755; *sGrC*, 22 December 1755.

32 *OHC* and *HHC*, 11 December 1755.

33 Mentioned in *AC en HHC*, 27 December 1755.

34 Buisman, 'Het bevend Nederland', pp. 33–35; Matthias Georgi, *Heuschrecken, Erdbeben und Kometen: Naturkatastrophen und Naturwissenschaft in der englischen Öffentlichkeit des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: August Dreesbach Verlag, 2009), pp. 148–168; see also idem, 'The Lisbon Earthquake and Scientific Knowledge in the British Public Sphere', in Theodore E.D. Braun and John B. Radner (eds.), *The Lisbon Earthquake of 1755: Representations and reactions: SVEC 2005:02* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2005), pp. 81–96.

Of all Dutch newspapers the *Hollandsche Historische Courant* included the higher number of news accounts and letters about the Lisbon earthquake.³⁵ An explanation why the Delft newspaper squeezed the subject dry is perhaps that it simply had more space for news items as it did not have as many advertisements as the newspapers of bigger cities such as Amsterdam and The Hague. Furthermore the Delft editor may have hoped to attract more readers with this sensational topic.

2 Sources and Routes

Many details are still unclear about how early modern newspaper editors gathered, selected, and edited their news sources. In their newspapers they systematically reveal only the geographic origin of their news items. Most of the reports in Dutch newspapers appeared under a country name and started with a so-called dateline: a city name and a date.³⁶ Only a small portion of them include information about how the news message was received or the quality of the source. These start with phrases such as, “With a Courier who arrived from LISBON here (in Madrid) on the 8th of this month the regrettable tid-ing has been received,”³⁷ “*Private* LETTER from LONDON of 28 November,”³⁸ or “Summary from a letter of Captain Jan Pynappel with the date of the 11th of this [month] written from Tessel to his book-keeper here.”³⁹ In his 23 December 1755 edition the Delft editor even started with this extensive introduction:

Several letters from Lisbon have been received with the latest letters from London of 16 this [month], at that place arrived with the packet boat, there already expected for several days. It is our opinion that those letters deserve to be communicated word-for-word as they are true and recent, and among them the following LETTER, *written by Sir ABRAHAM CAS-*

35 See earlier footnotes and the many quoted letters received from Lisbon via England in *HHC*, 23, 25, and 27 December 1755.

36 In 1752 the *Leeuwarder Courant* was the first Dutch newspaper that published its news items thematically.

37 In Dutch: “Met een Courier, dewelke den 8 dezer Maand van LISBON alhier (te Madrid) gearriveert is, heeft men de beklaglyke tyding ontvangen”. *LeyC*, 28 November 1755.

38 In Dutch: “*Particuliere* BRIEF van LONDEN den 28 November”. *LeyC*, 5 December 1755.

39 In Dutch: “Extract uit een brief van Kapt. Jan Pynappel in dato den 11 dezer uit Tessel [= Texel] aen zyn boekhouder alhier [= Amsterdam] geschreeven”. *AC*, 13 December 1755.

TRES, the King of Great Britain's *Envoy Extr[aordinary]* at the King of Portugal, dated LISBON 6 November 1755, seems to be suitable as the first one.⁴⁰

In this way newspaper editors tried to convince their readers at least as much as possible that they presented reliable information.⁴¹ In his 8 December 1755 issue, for example, the Leiden editor stated that he quoted "very credible messages" about Lisbon. Actually, such phrases were still vague.⁴²

Many early modern news media used the same—frequently scarce—sources, or copied messages from each other.⁴³ This was already illustrated above with the news messages about the earthquake in Madrid, which were almost identical. Although newspaper editors used other newspapers as welcome sources for their own purposes, most of the time they concealed this way of gathering news. At best they only mentioned them in general terms, such as the Haarlem editor did in his report about the rise of the water in surrounding Dutch cities, which he introduced with the words "today's newspapers state."⁴⁴ The reproduction in Dutch newspapers of a letter coming from the papal nuncio in Portugal is another characteristic example. The nuncio had dated his letter to his Spanish colleague with the words, "From the place where Lisbon was situated formerly," a dramatic phrase that Dutch editors must have considered a very suitable quotation for specifying the horrible circumstances.⁴⁵ Furthermore, it is significant that all Dutch newspapers

40 Quote in Dutch: "Met de jongste brieven van Londen van den 16 deezer heeft men verscheide brieven van Lisbon ontfangen, aldaar ingekomen in de pakketboot, dewelke men aldaar reeds voor eenige dagen had verwacht. Die brieven verdienen na 't ons toeschynt ter oorzaake van hare echtheid en jongere dagteekening, dat we dezelve van woord tot woord meededeelen, en onder deeze komt billyk in de eerste plaats voor de volgende BRIEF, *geschreven door den heer ABRAHAM CASTRES, extr[aordinair] envoyé des konings van Groot-Brittannie by den koning van Portugal, gedagteekent LISBON den 6 november 1755.*" *HHC*, 23 December 1755.

41 Marcel Broersma, 'A Daily Truth: The Persuasive Power of Early Modern Newspapers', in Joop W. Koopmans and Nils Holger Petersen (eds.), *Commonplace Culture in Western Europe in the Early Modern Period, III: Legitimation of Authority* (Leuven, Paris and Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2011), pp. 19–34.

42 Also, e.g., *AC*, 13 December 1755, in which a rumor is surely denied.

43 See, e.g., Will Slauter, 'Le paragraphe mobile: circulation et transformation des informations dans le monde atlantique du XVIII^e siècle', *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 67 (2012), pp. 363–389.

44 In Dutch: "In de Niews-papieren van heden word gemeld[.]" *OHC*, 4 November 1755.

45 *UC*, 28 November 1755; *RoC*, 29 November 1755; *OGC*, 2 December 1755; *LC*, 6 December 1755. Cf. Saada and Sgard, 'Tremblements', p. 218.

with information about the tidal surges and the earthquake mentioned—apart from Lisbon—the same cities: Glückstadt, Travemünde, Portsmouth, Bordeaux, Madrid, Cadiz, Malaga, and a few other cities around the Mediterranean, even though many other European cities had also experienced the rising water.⁴⁶ This confirms the assumption that the Dutch editors copied the news from each other and from the same foreign newspapers, all depending on a limited supply of news sources. Only well-established newspapers could afford to have correspondents abroad.⁴⁷

Another topic with many uncertainties concerns the routes of the news. In this case, how did the Lisbon news reach the Netherlands? Dutch newspapers at the time of the earthquake show that most news items were received via or from Madrid, Paris, and London. The Haarlem and Rotterdam newspapers, for example, derived and quoted the first news about the Portuguese earthquake from Paris, where letters from Lisbon had been received.⁴⁸ This corresponds with the existing mail services of the 1750s, which news suppliers must have used. The Dutch Republic did not have direct postal connections with Portugal. A combination of French and Spanish postal services was generally employed. This route could easily have delays because of the different parties involved. Before 1760, post between Lisbon and Madrid was only sent once a week. This was another reason why the sending of news-letters from Portugal overland to the Netherlands, and vice versa, took much time. During the seventeenth century a few attempts to establish a direct sea connection between the Dutch Republic and Portugal had failed because they were not profitable enough.⁴⁹

It will be clear that the sending of news accounts from Lisbon to the outside world was interrupted during the first chaotic days after the earthquake.

46 Reports about the rise of the water in cities and regions published in only one Dutch newspaper: *HHC*, 18, 20, 22, 25, and 27 November: about Hamburg, Cuxhaven, and surrounding cities, Cork and Kinsale in Ireland, Tenterden in Kent (England), Lunden (Schleswig-Holstein), and Swansea (Wales); *OHC*, 11 December 1755: about Swedish Falun; *AC*, 23 December: from Stockholm about the Norwegian coast.

47 In 1738 the *OHC*, e.g., had foreign correspondents in Vienna, Paris, Hamburg, London, Rome, Frankfurt, Cologne, Brussels, and Venice. Dirk H. Couvée, 'The Administration of the "Oprechte Haarlemse Courant" 1738–1742', *Gazette: International Journal of the Science of the Press etc.*, 4 (1958), pp. 91–110, at pp. 103, 106.

48 *OHC* and *RoC*, 27 November 1755. Cf. Saada and Sgard, 'Tremblements', p. 212.

49 Overvoorde, *Geschiedenis van het postwezen*, pp. 247–250. He asserts that in 1755, Holland experimented with a connection from England over sea to Lisbon as a temporary solution to high French and Spanish postage costs. Overvoorde does not mention the time of the year in which the experiment took place, therefore it is not clear if there is a connection between the experiment and the dissemination of the earthquake news.

One author sighed—as quoted in the Leiden newspaper—that he had found only one piece of paper, and that with difficulty, so he could not write up a complete story.⁵⁰ However, very soon couriers travelled between Lisbon and Madrid to inform the Spanish court about the situation in Portugal. The king of Spain, Ferdinand VI, appeared to be uneasy and showed great sympathy towards the Portuguese victims, as his sister Mariana Victoria was married to Portugal's king, Joseph I. Ferdinand also sent couriers to Portugal to gather information. This partially explains why the Spanish capital became an important link in the dissemination of the Portuguese news.⁵¹ Furthermore, diplomats and merchants who had survived the catastrophe tried to reach their masters as soon as possible. Many quotations from their letters reached the newspapers, since their content was considered less private than it would be nowadays.

More or less regular connections between Lisbon and other parts of Europe were restored within a few weeks after 1 November 1755. An anonymous letter from Lisbon, dated 11 November, opens with the news that the author had not been able to write earlier as the post had been disturbed until then.⁵² Datelines such as “Belem [the remaining royal residence] near Lisbon, 19 November” also show that postal connections between Portugal and the outside world were being used again during the second half of the month.⁵³ The Utrecht newspaper illustrates this with the fact that the earthquake news was summarized with the help of letters from Madrid prior to the 8 December edition, which included Portuguese news of about one month before. Yet in the subsequent Utrecht edition of 10 December, the editor mentioned that letters written in Lisbon had been received in the Netherlands. He commented, however, that those letters were still very “abrupt,” and so it was not yet possible to make one continuous story. Besides, it is illustrative that the Utrecht newspaper included the heading “Portugal” for the first time after the earthquake news had started, only in its 12 December edition.⁵⁴

50 *LeyC*, 12 December 1755. Longer quote in Dutch: “Ik heb met moeite een blaadje Papier weeten te krygen, om het weinig, 't geen ik schryf te melden; zoo dat, al wilde ik, het onmooglyk zouw zyn een uitvoerig Verhaal te geeven.”

51 Spanish troops escorted these news couriers after four of them had been murdered by highwaymen in Portugal, where plundering had started after the disaster. *HHC*, 20 December 1755. Cf. Saada and Sgard, ‘Tremblements’, pp. 216, 218.

52 *LeyC*, 15 December 1755; also *HHC*, 16 December 1755.

53 *RoC*, 23 December 1755.

54 The first news under the heading “Portugal” in the Amsterdam newspaper was published on 20 December, with in the dateline “Belem, not far away from the ruins of Lisbon”.

In the meantime, Dutch newspaper readers must have observed that the sea route between Portugal and England became important in disseminating news about Lisbon. Many news items about the disaster were received from London and appeared in the Dutch newspapers under the headings “Great Britain” or “England.” The Delft newspaper with the first report about the Lisbon devastations also included a message about earthquakes in Oporto, which had been received in the Downs from a returning ship called *Weston*.⁵⁵ On 2 December, the Haarlem newspaper mentioned that everybody was very much looking forward to the English letters that had been sent via the packet boat from Lisbon to Falmouth.

A combination of land and sea routes was also possible. A report in the Rotterdam newspaper of 4 December about the situation in Lisbon, published under “England” and with a London dateline, included news selected from letters posted in Madrid and Paris. In this case the news travelled from Lisbon, via Madrid or Paris, to London, and from London to Rotterdam.⁵⁶ The same account anxiously revealed that the English packet boat that should have left the Lisbon harbour on 2 or 3 November had not arrived with letters from British diplomats and merchants.⁵⁷

Dutch news editors could further rely on information originating from Dutch ships that had returned safely from Lisbon harbour to the Netherlands. On 3 December, for example, the Leiden newspaper published a story about the earthquake, recounted by Cornelis Cornelisz and Hans Piet Mooy, two Dutchmen who had returned to Amsterdam two days earlier. In this case the editor mentioned the names of the authors, which must have given the news report more authority than letters from unknown foreigners. At the same time this ensured everybody knew that both men were out of danger.

3 Speculation, Reflection, and the Concept of Contemporeinity

Unclear and incomplete news always lead to speculation and uncertainty. This was no different in 1755, when the sudden rise of the water on 1 November could not be immediately explained. People at the time had to be far more patient than today. They were familiar with the idea that rumours could not be

55 This message was published under the heading of “Great Britain”. *HHC*, 27 November 1755.

56 This sea route is missing on the map of diffusion routes in Saada and Sgard, ‘Tremblements’, p. 217.

57 Also *AC*, 4 December 1755.

researched or confirmed at once. This does not mean, of course, that they did not reflect on and react to unaccountable news items. It is obvious to assume, for instance, that clever newspaper readers in the Netherlands soon connected their own 'tsunami' with news that reached the country about the unexpected tidal surges and the earthquakes abroad. Yet only slowly—after having read subsequent newspaper issues—would it become clear that their natural phenomenon had its origin in the southwestern part of Europe, as the rise of the water had been noticed in the south of England at 10:30 AM, in the north of the Netherlands around 11:00 AM, and in Baltic harbors at noon. Later news reports about the earthquake in Bordeaux mentioned 10:15 AM, thus earlier than the tidal wave arrived in England and the Netherlands.⁵⁸

Curiosity about the possible explanations for the sudden change of the water level must have been one of the readers' main reactions as long as the real cause of the phenomenon was unclear. Next to the newspaper reports, in which this curiosity was also noticed, this also led to other types of publications with possible answers to people's questions about the phenomenon. Smart editors responded to their readers' curiosity by publishing pamphlets purporting to explain the floods and earthquakes: texts with 'scientific' pretensions and dominant religious ideas as well. The editor of the *Leeuwarder Courant*, Abraham Ferwerda, published such a pamphlet very quickly, which he announced in the Leiden newspaper of 14 November and his own newspaper issue of 15 November, its long title starting with 'Historische en Natuur-kundige Aanmerkingen over de zeldzame AARD- en WATER-SCHUDDINGE' [Historical and physical comments about the rare trembling of the earth and the water].

Ferwerda's pamphlet was written by "J.G.M.," initials standing for the Lutheran clergyman Johan Georg Muller, and was for sale in many Dutch cities for the price of five Dutch stivers. The clerical hand is immediately visible in the leaflet's opening sentence, in which the author proclaims that God reminds people of His omnipotence via natural phenomena, in this case an earthquake. After many pages with information about earthquakes, and highly incorrect geological explanations, Muller tries to explain the 1755 trembling of the earth by the winds, the oceans, the geographical peculiarities of the Netherlands, and subterranean water passages with underground disturbances. He frightens the reader with his conclusion that the Dutch soil could suddenly sink into the waters of the sea at any moment, if this was God's will.

58 See, e.g., *OGC*, 4, 14, and 18 November 1755; *OHC*, 22 November 1755. See also *HHC*, 2 December 1755, in which the time differences are explained.

According to the editor, Muller's pamphlet was very popular. In Ferwerda's announcement of the third edition, he mentioned that 1500 copies had been sold within a week.⁵⁹ A few weeks after the Lisbon news had become known, the Leeuwarden newspaper announced a pamphlet in which Muller's text was criticized.⁶⁰ This is another indication that the topic was popular. The weight of the godly dimension and religious ideology in people's reflection on the disaster can also be illustrated by Muller's subsequent pamphlet, in which the author used the Lisbon earthquake as a warning and sign that the end of the world was near.⁶¹

During November and December several news pamphlets accompanied the newspapers' accounts, such as the *Beschryving van Lissabon etc.* [Description of Lisbon], published by the Leiden bookseller Hendrik van der Deyster. This publication included an account about the water movements in the Netherlands and the earthquake in Portugal. Another characteristic example is the *Chronykje of naauwkeurige beschryvinge der aard-beevinge, of water-beweevinge, etc.* [Short chronicle or meticulous report about the earthquake or water movement, etc.]. This small leaflet, printed by Jacobus van Egmont's widow in Amsterdam at the end of 1755, repeated all the news that had been published in the Dutch newspapers about the subject. This shows that the market for news lasted beyond the initial rush to buy corantos and gazettes. After all, it was, of course, easier to reflect on earlier reports that had been published across several newspapers when they were published in only one document. Easy remembering and retrieving of the news would also become possible in the subsequent year when news periodicals, such as the *Europische Mercurius* [European Mercury], summarized the newspapers' accounts.⁶²

Brendan Dooley has asserted that the idea of contemporaneity emerged when international communication networks started to function. He claims that despite:

59 LC, 29 November 1755; in the LC's 6 December announcement, the author's full name was revealed. See also HHC, 13 December 1755, about Utrecht physicists who tried to explain the earthquake.

60 B.J.M.D. [Bern. Idema, Med. Dr.], *Historische en natuurkundige tegenwerpingen tegens de historische en natuurkundige aanmerkingen over de aard- en waterschuddinge van den 1 november 1755 etc.* (Heerenveen: A. Posthumus, 1755). LC, 6 December 1755.

61 Johan Georg Muller, *Voor-tekenen van de nabyheit van het vergaan der wereld en van den jongsten dag, opgemaakt ter gelegenheit van de vreeszelyke aardbevinge en waterschuddinge te Lissabon, de Nederlanden en elders, voorgesteld ter waarschuwinge en Christelyke toebereidinge* (Leeuwarden: Abraham Ferwerda, 1755), announced in LC, 20 December 1755.

62 *Nederlandsch gedenkboek of Europische Mercurius etc.* 66/2 (1755), pp. 285–290, 294–312.

frequent delays, shifting borders, linguistic barriers, unreliable carriers and differences in the reckoning of time, Europeans began to share a knowledge of one another and of events in the world taking place in the present.⁶³

From the perspective of early modern news, it is interesting to note that this awareness was indeed present in Dutch newspapers of 1755 that reported on the Lisbon earthquake and tsunami. News reports about the same events reached the Netherlands from various corners of Europe, and Dutch newspaper editors combined their contents. A characteristic observation can be found in the *Hollandsche Historische Courant*, in which the Delft editor observes that the “shaking of the water” was not only mentioned in letters from Friesland, Groningen, and other provinces, but also in Glückstadt, Travemünde, and Portsmouth. He concluded that the circumstances were the same everywhere.⁶⁴

In this case, however, with the Netherlands as a reference point, we have to be aware that the effects of the Lisbon earthquake—the tsunami and its consequences—were noticed and known in a large northern European area weeks before the news about the earthquake was known all over that same area. This means that we still have to distinguish several stages and circles of early modern contemporaneity, dependent on the potential speed of news at the time: first a more or less simultaneously existing and relatively small circle of news readers, who received information about what had happened nearby at the same time and not long after; and afterwards, expanding groups of news readers who did not get the news at the same time because it had not taken place nearby. The question is whether or not those expanding groups can still be considered as one circle of persons who shared a feeling of contemporaneity. After all, the larger the area became, the fewer people shared in the experience of reading about the same news simultaneously. It was only after having read such news that people could have a shared memory of the event. In the end, such a memory could be intensified by syntheses of news that were published in pamphlets and news periodicals.

63 Dooley, *Dissemination of News*, p. xiii.

64 Quote in Dutch: “Niet alleen verneemt men ook met brieven uit Vriesland, Groningen en andere provincien deezer republik, dat diergelyke waterschuddinge aldaar op 't zelve oogenblik meede is bespeurt, maar ook melden die van Gluckstadt, Travemunde, enz. in 't Holsteinsche, alsmeede die van Portsmouth in Engeland; enz., dat men niet zonder verbaasheid aldaar meede die waterbeweegeing vernomen heeft, komende de omstandigheeden, die uit alle plaatzen gemeld worden, dewelken dat zonderlinge geval verzelt hebben, alle genoegzaam met elkander overëen.” *HHC*, 13 November 1755.

4 Final Remarks

This chapter deals with the dissemination of news from the south of Europe to the Dutch Republic, half way the eighteenth century, focused on the subject of the Lisbon earthquake and tsunami of 1755. News about the sudden tidal surges on 1 November 1755 reached Dutch newspaper readers from a surrounding area that slowly expanded, depending on the postal infrastructure and means of transport in Europe at the time. Several routes,—over land (via Spain, France and the Southern Netherland) and by sea (via England or directly from Portugal)—were used to carry news from the earthquake area to the Dutch Republic. Dutch newspaper editors were very eager to publish the earthquake reports as soon as possible, however, they could not confirm rumours easily and to do this they had to rely on uncertain sources. Many news items were copied from other newspapers, with all the mistakes they included.

Another implication of the speed of early modern news carriers was that the Lisbon earthquake was topical for the Dutch about a month after the disaster had taken place. In the meantime they could only speculate about the explanations for what had happened in their own region. This is substantially different from the situation of today, in which we hear world news immediately via all kinds of media. Considering that early modern Europeans did not have so many news channels as we have today, and that their media had to rely on a relatively small supply of news sources (in many countries even state controlled), we may perhaps conclude that their knowledge was based more on the same sources than is the case today. However, thorough research has yet to be done to verify this aspect of ‘European contemporaneity’ and to address the question: to what extent were news reports in Europe simply copied from foreign newspapers? This type of research will hopefully become easier when more European newspapers have been digitized.

5 Appendix

News messages about the earthquake in Madrid in 1755 in Dutch newspapers, with almost the same content and structure, also printed in *La Gazette de Cologne* on 21 November 1755 as follows:

De Madrid, le 3 novembre. Le 1^{er} de ce mois, à 10 heures et 17 ou 18 minutes du matin, nous avons eu ici pendant 4 minutes un violent tremblement de terre, qui a endommagé plusieurs édifices et coûté la vie à 2 enfants écrasés par la chute d’une croix de pierre du frontispice d’une église. On

apprend de plusieurs villes des environs, qu' on y en a aussi ressenti les secousses et qu' en particulier elles ont été très vives à l' Escorial, d' où la Cour partit subitement peu après pour revenir ici.⁶⁵

[*From Madrid, 3 November.* The 1st of this month, at 17 or 18 minutes past 10 in the morning, we had a violent trembling of the earth for 4 minutes, which has damaged several buildings and cost the life of 2 children who have been crushed by the fall of a stone crucifix of a church's frontispiece. It is said in several surrounding cities that people did also felt the earthquake shocks, and in particular they were severe in the Escorial, from whence the Court immediately returned to here.]

As it took about five days before news from Cologne was printed in Dutch newspapers,⁶⁶ it seems almost impossible that the Dutch newspapers copied the report from the Cologne gazette. They must have had a common source. The *Amsterdamse Courant*, *Leydse Courant*, and *Oprechte Groninger Courant* did not publish this report.

's *Gravenhaegse Courant*, 24 November 1755: MADRID, DEN 3 NOVEMBER. Eergisteren morgen, eeven over half elf uren [half past ten], heeft men hier een zwaere schudding van een Aerdbeeving gevoeld, waer door veel schade aen verscheyde Huyzen veroorzaekt is, en onder andere zyn twee Kinderen door een steene Kruys, van een onzer Kerken, dat van boven naer beneeden storte, verpletterd. Men meend dat deeze Schudding byna overal, dog voornamentlyk op 't Escuriael, gevoeld was, van waer het Hof in alle spoed herwaerts gere-tourneerd is.

Utrechtse Courant, 24 November 1755: MADRID den 3 November. Eergisteren morgen ten 10 uren en 17 a 18 minuten, had men alhier gedurende 4 minuten een geweldige Aerdbeving, waer door verscheide Gebouwen beschadigt, en 2 Kinderen door het vallen van een Kruis van de Spits van een Kerk verpletttert zyn. Uit verscheide naburige Steden verneemt men, dat aldaer die Aerdbeving mede gevoelt, en inzonderheid in't Escuriael zeer hevig geweest is, weshalven het Hof kort 'er na haestig van daer vertrok om herwaerds te keeren.

Rotterdamse Courant, 25 November 1755: MADRID den 3 November. Den 1 deeser's morgens 17 à 18 Minuten na 10 uren, hebben wy hier geduurende den tyd

65 Quoted in Saada and Sgard, 'Tremblements', pp. 210–211.

66 Koopmans, 'Supply and Speed', p. 200.

van 4 Minuten een geweldige Aardbeving gehad, die eenige Huysen beschadigt, en aan 2 Kinderen die het vallen van een Steene Kruys van boven het Frontispice van een Kerk verplettert zyn, het leven gekost heeft. Uyt verscheyde omleggende Steden verneemt men, dat de Schuddingen aldaar ook zyn gevoeld, en dat se vooral te Escurial seer hevig zyn geweest, van waar het Hof kort daar aan seer subitelyk vertrok, om herwaarts terug te komen.

Opreche Haerlemse Courant, 25 November 1755: MADRID den 3 November. Saturdag ochtend ten 10 Uuren en 17 of 18 Minuten hebben wy hier eene sterke Aardbeving gevoeld, welke 4 minuten geduurd, verscheydene Gebouwen beschadigt en twee Kinderen door het afwerpen van een Steenen Kruys van 't Portaal eener Kerk gedood heeft. In verscheydene andere Steden en Plaatsen hieromstreeks is dezelfde insgelyks gevoeld, en wel voornamentlyk in 't Escuriaal van waar het Hof immediaan daarop na deze Residentie terugkeerde.

Hollandsche Historische Courant [Delft], 25 November 1755: MADRID den 3 November. Den eersten deezer 's morgens ten 10 uuren, 17 à 18 min., hebben we hier een zware aardbeving gehad, die 4 minuten geduurt heeft, waardoor verscheide gebouwen beschadigt, en 2 kinderen onder een afgevallen kruis van den voorgeevel van een der kerken verplettert zyn, en uit verscheide andere steeden verneemt men, dat men die aardbeving aldaar insgelyks heeft gevoelt, en inzonderheid in 't Escuriaal, verzelt van zware schokkingen in het water.

Leeuwarder Courant, 29 November 1755: Madrid den 3 November Eergisteren morgen om half elf uuren [half past ten], heeft men hier een zware schudding van een Aardbeving gevoeld, waar door veel schade aan verscheide Huizen veroorzaakt is, en onder andere twee Kinderen, door een steene Kruis, van een onzer Kerken, dat van boven na beneden stortte, verplettert. Men verneemt dat deze Schudding byna overal, dog voornamentlyk op't Escuriaal, gevoeld was, van waar het Hof in alle spoed herwaarts geretourneert is.

Wars in Early Modern News: Dutch News Media and Military Conflicts*

In the early modern era the supply of news changed considerably due to the appearance of various new news media. Already in the sixteenth century news reports no longer reached the population just through the spoken word, songs or manuscript texts. Printed news tidings and pamphlets, engravings and cartographic material began to diversify the availability of traditional oral and manuscript media. From the seventeenth century onwards the printed newspaper increasingly satiated demands for coverage of current affairs.

A substantial part of early modern news was devoted to coverage of the wars that plagued the European continent. The Dutch Republic was involved in numerous wars, sometimes as a protagonist, at other times as a mediating neutral power. News of military confrontations was important. Regents, merchants and ordinary citizens wished to know the latest developments and outcomes of conflicts for a variety of reasons. Many were curious about the strength and size of armies and fleets, the courage or cowardice of allied or enemy troops, the tensions between allied partners, terms of surrender, peace treaties and many other military facts and figures. Such interest is universal, but the means to satisfy this curiosity are of course bound to their time, and are closely connected with technological and infrastructural developments.

The publication of newspapers and other printed news media fostered an expanding reading public and made ever more information available. For potentates and princes this development was a double-edged sword. Their political actions were influenced by the media, even if they did not have to justify their decisions. The authorities hoped to exercise control over the media by regulating the activities of news writers and publishers, implementing censorship and manipulating the news itself. But they could rarely prevent or restrict the emergence of political unrest or an independent public opinion, especially in threatening conditions.

* Translated by Arthur der Weduwen. The Dutch version was published as 'Oorlogen in het vroegmoderne nieuws: Nederlandse nieuwsbronnen over militaire confrontaties', *Historisch Tijdschrift Leidschrift*, 22 (2007), pp. 103–121.

This chapter concerns the dissemination and interpretation of war news in the Dutch Republic. The opening of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780–1784) is discussed in detail in order to illustrate some of the themes of war reporting.

1 Rumours of Wars, Newsletters, Pamphlets, Engravings and Maps

Before the emergence of the printing press the Dutch population had to rely on oral reports and handwritten newsletters for news of wars. Pedlars, messengers and other travellers were questioned in taverns and other public places about their observations and experiences. News reports were also read aloud and sometimes messengers might leak confidential information from diplomatic despatches.¹ We can only guess at the content of these oral reports, but the importance of this medium is confirmed explicitly by chroniclers of conflict in diaries and other egodocuments. For example, the diary of the secretary of Groningen, Johan Julsing, which he kept in the years before the siege of the city in 1594, contains numerous passages which open with the phrases “word has arrived” or “it is said that”. Julsing also notes more detailed introductions, including statements such as “a merchant arrived here who has said that” and “the news that the sailors have brought concerns”, and so forth.² On 20 July 1590 Julsing wrote that: “It is said in Germany that the King of Spain has recruited 10,000 cavalry and six regiments of foot soldiers”. This report, according to the secretary, was false, as he added to the report in Hebrew characters the statement “Lies”.³

- 1 See e.g. Marianne Eekhout, ‘Leven tussen hoop en vrees: Het belang van het nieuws tijdens de belegeringen van Haarlem en Leiden (1572–1574)’, *Tijdschrift voor Mediageschiedenis*, 10 (2007), pp. 4–22 and her Master’s thesis, “‘Dees boden van de Stadt om Brieven af te draghen, zij brachten kleynen troost en soberen bescheyt’. De belegeringen van Haarlem, Alkmaar en Leiden (1572–1574) en het nieuws’ (University of Groningen, 2006); Brendan Dooley, ‘Sources and Methods in Information History: The Case of Medici Florence, the Armada, and the Siege of Ostende’, in Joop W. Koopmans (ed.), *News and politics in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Leuven, Parijs and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2005), pp. 29–46; Christ M. Klinkert, *Nassau in het nieuws: Nieuwsprenten van Maurits van Nassaus militaire ondernemingen uit de periode 1590–1600* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005), pp. 38–41.
- 2 Jan van den Broek, *Het geheime dagboek van de Groninger stadssecretaris Johan Julsing: Inleiding, tekst, vertaling en toelichting* (Assen: Groninger Bronnenreeks 2, 2006), e.g. pp. 64, 72, 78, 91–96.
- 3 Van den Broek, *Het geheime dagboek*, p. 184 (translation on p. 75). Julsing wrote especially in Hebrew when he wished to keep certain information secret. Ibidem, p. 28.

The editor of Julsing's diary, Jan van den Broek, remarks correctly that most sixteenth-century people had difficulty establishing the reliability of news reports. The dissemination of false information—in oral and in written media—was an established tactic of psychological warfare, used frequently, for instance, in the Dutch Revolt. In June 1594 false reports announcing the arrival of a Spanish army to relieve the siege of Groningen caused riots in the city, which might have had disastrous consequences.⁴ It was therefore essential for authorities to regulate the supply of incoming news.

This is also confirmed by recent research into the news culture of the first phase of the Dutch Revolt, when the cities of Haarlem, Alkmaar and Leiden were besieged in 1573 and 1574. The magistrates of Leiden proclaimed from the balustrade of the city hall letters of encouragement by William of Orange intended to strengthen morale in the city, while they also took preventive measures against the dissemination of defeatist rumours. During these sieges authorities made use of pigeon post and secret couriers in order to smuggle messages in and out of their cities. They also tried to detect the plans of the enemy using similar tactics. Women were sometimes involved in these practices; the enemy would be less suspicious of women crossing enemy lines, and they therefore had a better chance of success.⁵

Due to increasing demand for war reports and the development of printed media it became possible to disseminate war news commercially in the form of pamphlets and news tidings. Printed news journals and reports written by citizens of Haarlem were already available during and shortly after the siege in 1573.⁶ Such journals were a popular and informative genre in the early modern period, but they were always infused with a partisan perspective. We find this too in the journals published on the siege of Groningen in the Disaster Year of 1672. In these the Bishop of Münster (the besieger) is demonised, while the citizens of Groningen are praised for their courage and resilience. Groningen “forced the enemy to retreat with great shame, and laid the foundation for the renewal of our disturbed Republic”, according to one anonymous text printed in the city.⁷

4 Ibidem, pp. 37–38.

5 Eekhout, ‘Leven tussen hoop en vrees’, pp. 9, 14–15.

6 These stories are discussed in Eekhout's Master thesis “‘Dees boden van de Stadt’”, pp. 21–24.

7 *Wytlopijger journael, van 't gepasseerde in en omtrent de stadt Groningen etc.* (Groningen: Rembertus Huysman, 1672). See also Andreas Eldercampus, *Journael ofte Daaglijckse aanteykeninge van 't gene omtrent de belegering van stadt Groningen etc.* (Groningen: Gerrit Klaessen, 1672)—with thanks to Nienke van den Berg.

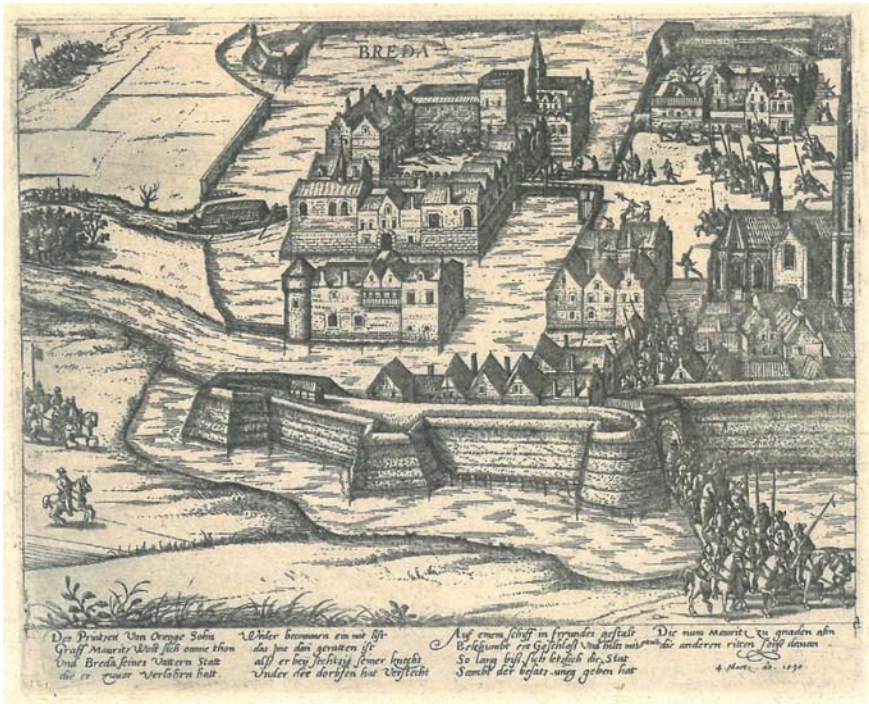


FIGURE 31 Portrayal of the Siege of Breda in March 1590. Etching, attributed to the publisher Frans Hogenberg, in Cologne
RIJKSPRENTENKABINET, AMSTERDAM, THE NETHERLANDS

Military engravings were another popular news medium used to enhance war reports. The Cologne publishing house of Frans Hogenberg was one of the most famous enterprises providing the Dutch market with such news sources. These engravings, invariably produced with great care, portrayed scenes of war with limited faithfulness to the truth. Their engravers permitted themselves practical and artistic licences. They often produced illustrations composed of multiple overlapping episodes of the same military confrontation, a design feature which Christi Klinkert termed “pictorial contamination”. She studied the engravings which portrayed the military engagements of Stadhouder Maurice in the final decade of the sixteenth century.⁸

A good example of “pictorial contamination” is provided by an engraving from 1590, attributed to Hogenberg, portraying the conquest of Breda in the same year. On this engraving (see Figure 31) we see on the left a peat barge sail-

⁸ Klinkert, *Nassau in het nieuws*.

ing into the city in day light, and in the middle the outbreak of fighting with the Spanish garrison. In reality the Dutch soldiers appeared after hiding in the peat barge until nightfall. At the top left of the image the Dutch army is prepared to assist the soldiers from the peat barge against the Spanish, while at the bottom right of the illustration the Spanish army retreats from the city, marking the end of the episode.⁹ The reader of engravings of this sort would require some initial knowledge of the narrative of events, or be enlightened by marginal texts in order to understand fully the developments portrayed by the illustration.

Engravings of battles or sieges were sold loose and as part of other printed news accounts, provided that the news accounts were produced some time after the event. This was the case with the regular news digests introduced in the seventeenth century. These digests provided summaries of news events in monthly or bi-annual instalments. A well-known example of this genre is the *Europische Mercurius*, published in Amsterdam for many decades from 1690 onwards. In this news digest numerous engravings can be found of war heroes, sieges, bombardments, conquests, fleets and sketches of terrain (see Figure 32).

Here we should also mention cartographical material, which could also provide news of military operations. The cartographer C. Koeman distinguished a variety of military maps. Some of the maps available to the reading public seemed to him to bear close resemblance to maps for use by military strategists. Other maps display a combination of artistic and topographical characteristics, and were judged by Koeman to be “news maps” rather than technical maps. On such maps one often sees miniature portrayals of fighting, including various cruel acts of war.¹⁰ In practice one can speak of a broad spectrum of different military maps.

The trade in engravings and maps of war scenes was extremely lucrative in the Dutch Republic. During the Dutch Revolt, for example, the shop of the Amsterdam engraver Claes Jansz Visscher flourished, while during the era of

9 Klinkert, *Nassau in het nieuws*, pp. 45–47, 57–64, 70–73, 102, 136. Prints in the form of cartoons also existed. Ibidem, pp. 76–77. See also her ‘Information or Indoctrination? News Prints of the Military Campaigns of Maurice of Nassau (1585–1625)’, in Martin Gosman and Joop W. Koopmans (eds.), *Selling and Rejecting Politics in Early Modern Europe* (Leuven, Paris and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2007), pp. 59–69, at pp. 60–61.

10 Cornelis Koeman, ‘Krijgsgeschiedkundige kaarten’, [1973] in his, *Miscellanea cartographica: Contributions to the History of Cartography*, Günter Schilder and Peter van der Krogt (eds.) (Utrecht: Brill, 1988), pp. 221–223 and p. 239. See also Sebastiaan J. de Groot and Arend H. Huussen Jr., ‘Cartografische en militaire aspecten van de geallieerde veldtocht in 1743 tijdens de Oostenrijkse Successieoorlog’, in Paula van Gestel-van het Schip and Peter van der Krogt (eds.), *Mappae antiquae: Liber amicorum Günter Schilder etc.* (’t Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2007), pp. 439–447.

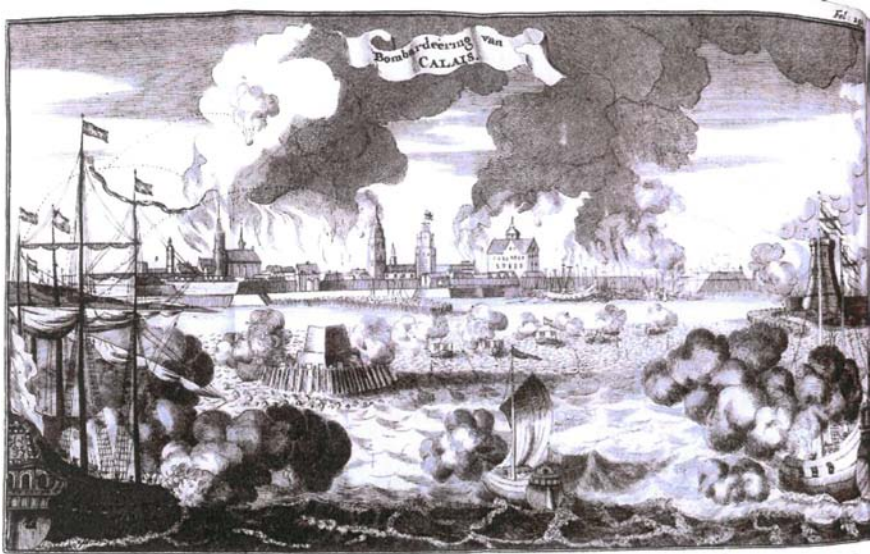


FIGURE 32 The third bombardment of Calais in April 1696 during the Nine Years' War
EUROPISCHE MERCURIUS, 7/1 (1696), ALONGSIDE P. 250. UNIVERSITY OF
 LEIDEN LIBRARY, THE NETHERLANDS

the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1713/14), Anna Beek, “seller of art and maps”, and her neighbour Pieter Husson were successful selling war maps in The Hague.¹¹ The trade in illustrated caricatures and lampoons, however, was restricted at the start of the War of the Spanish Succession. At the end of 1702 the States of Holland reiterated their measures providing for preventive censorship in order to limit the number of exasperated complaints from foreign courts.¹²

2 Reporting Wars in Newspapers, News Digests and Other Periodicals

The first Dutch newspaper, the *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt &c.* [Currents from Italy, Germany, &c.], appeared—as far as we know—for the first time in 1618. This was also the year which saw the beginning of the Thirty Years' War,

¹¹ Koeman, ‘Krijgsgeschiedkundige kaarten’, pp. 231–233.

¹² See for the placard’s text, e.g., *Europische Mercurius* (*EM*), 13/2 (1702), pp. 324–325. Regulations against undesirable news reports were also in place for newspaper editors, who were not permitted to publish their papers without consent of the local magistrates.

which erupted on 23 May with the Second Defenestration of Prague, when two Habsburg representatives were thrown out of the windows of the castle of Prague. With hindsight it is convenient to connect these two developments to one another, but that may be a little too simple.¹³ After all, in 1618 nobody could predict that the unrest in Bohemia against the religious persecution of Protestants would lead to a lengthy European conflict. It is nevertheless remarkable that the majority of content of the oldest extant issue of the *Courante uyt Italien*, dated to 14 or 15 June, is composed of a report from Prague and a report from Cologne concerning developments in Prague.¹⁴ The issue reports that the States of Bohemia recruited “many cavalry and infantry”, and that “in Germany soldiers are being recruited everywhere”. But this issue also contains a variety of news which has no relation to the conflict.¹⁵

However, the emergence and commercial success of newspapers and periodicals is clearly linked to news of war. In 1690, the *Europische Mercurius* was launched because of “the uncommon occurrences and revolutions which have taken place since the Christian world descended into warfare, due to the arrogance and ambition of France”.¹⁶ With this the editor of the periodical referred to the start of the Nine Years’ War, unleashed by Louis XIV, King of France, in 1689. The threat of war during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) was also cited as the reason for the launch of the *Geoeuro-jeerde Groninger Courant* [Licensed Groningen Newspaper] in 1743.¹⁷ A third example is the Patriot periodical *De Post van den Neder-Rhijn* [The Post of

13 An announcement of the literary journal *De Brakke Grond*’s 85th issue (2005), dedicated to war, states, e.g.: “Journalists too were pulled in by war zones from the very emergence of the press. The first Dutch newspaper (*Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt &c.*) appeared in 1618 due to the outbreak of the Thirty Years’ War.” See www.brakkehond.be/persdet.asp?id=137 (consulted 12 April 2006 [not available anymore]).

14 The issue does not have a date of publication. It is kept in Stockholm. See also Joop W. Koopmans, “‘Unverschämte und Ärgernis erregende Nachrichten verboten’: Politische Einmischung in niederländischen Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts”, in Martin Welke and Jürgen Wilke (eds.), *400 Jahre Zeitung: Die Entwicklung der Tagespresse im internationalen Kontext* (Bremen: edition lumière, 2007), pp. 123–138.

15 The issue is reproduced in Annie Stolp, ‘De overgang van geschreven naar gedrukte kranten in de Republiek der Zeven Provinciën’, *Historisch Tijdschrift Groniek*, 17/82 (1982), p. 13.

16 Quote in Dutch: “de algemeene zaaken en revolutien, welke voorgevallen [waren] sedert dat door de hoogmoed en staatzucht van Vrankryk de Christene wereld in oorlog [was] geraakt”. *EM*, 1/1 (1690), ‘Aan den leezer’ (unpaginated preface).

17 Bart P. Tammeling, *De krant bekeken: De geschiedenis van de dagbladen in Groningen en Drenthe* (Groningen: Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, 1988), p. 20. News of the war dominates the front page of the first issue of the paper, published on 4 January 1743.

the Lower Rhine], which was first published in Utrecht on 20 January 1781, not so incidentally a couple of weeks after the outbreak of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War. The editor, Pieter 't Hoen, opened his first issue with a strong criticism of the English authorities.¹⁸ During times of war one would also find numerous “Na-Couranten” (extraordinary issues, literally “After-Newspapers”) published by newspaper editors. These supplements were generally printed in between regular publication days in order to satiate demand for the latest reports on the war.¹⁹ In contrast, during peace time there could be a diminished demand for newspapers. The publishing house Enschedé, responsible for the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* [Sincere Haarlem Newspaper] argued in 1755 that a decrease in profits was due to the existence of peace in Europe since 1748.²⁰

In the Dutch Republic newspapers were published two or three times a week at most. This periodicity could cause some delays in the publication of certain news reports. Whenever news arrived at the doorstep of the *courantier*—the term used for these early modern newspaper editors—they would have to consider when they could next place the incoming report.²¹ This delay became considerable when reports of war concerned distant regions. Reports from the wars of the Ottoman Empire, or the Mediterranean, where North African pirate states maintained a permanent theatre of conflict, would only be received by Dutch news writers at least seven weeks after despatch.²² Such news was rather dated at publication, but one could still speak of breaking news with such older news bulletins.

It is logical to question how quickly reports of war reached Dutch newspaper readers in comparison to reports during peace time. It is impossible to offer a simple answer, because there were multiple variables at play. Wars could cause delays in news supply, because regular postal networks were obstructed or cut off, similar to bad weather interrupting the postal service. But wars could

18 P[reet] J.H.M. Theeuwen, *Pieter 't Hoen en De Post van den Neder-Rhijn (1781–1787)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), p. 133.

19 When the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War broke out in January 1781, the *Leeuwarder Courant* published extraordinary issues on 6, 10, 13, 20 and 27 January.

20 Willem Pieter Sautijn Kluit, ‘De Haerlemsche Courant’, *Handelingen en mededeelingen van de Maatschappij voor de Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (1873), pp. 3–132, at p. 61.

21 The *courantier* was the individual who compiled, translated and edited the news. Moreover, the *courantier* was often responsible for the commercial management and publication of the newspaper. Most early modern newspapers only had a single *courantier*.

22 Joop W. Koopmans and Cedric Regtop, “‘Zeeschuimers en verachtelijke Barbaaren?’ Nederlandse nieuwsfragmenten over Barbarije in de achttiende eeuw”, *Tijdschrift voor Zeege-schiedenis*, 21 (2002), pp. 34–48, at pp. 37, 47 (note 22).

also stimulate more intensive coverage of the front, which might encourage rapid transmissions of reports. Notwithstanding, wars always contributed to an increase in news from affected territories.²³

News reports in newspapers were generally organised under geographical divisions and datelined with common geographical locations, usually the place of correspondence. Reports from countries like England, France, Spain or Sweden often emanated from their respective political and economic centres, often the capital or important ports. The Holy Roman Empire offered the newspapers a wealth of places of correspondence due to the decentralised political structure of the region. Wars disrupted the regular systems of reporting. For example, in 1700 the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* reported on the outbreak of the Great Northern War (1700–1721) in Latvia and Schleswig-Holstein with datelines from “the army before Riga”, “the camp before the Dunamunder entrenchment” and “the Electoral Holstein frontline between the Husum and Schwabster entrenchments”.²⁴ In the same year the readers of this newspaper were also familiarised with the town of Pinneberg, close to Hamburg, by introducing the town with the headline “from the allied headquarters at Pinneberg” or simply “the army at Pinneberg”.²⁵ Such divergent and sometimes cumbersome notices presented the reader with the distinctive features of war reporting and provided context for otherwise unfamiliar geographical locations which did not usually appear in the papers.

Border changes during war time were also incorporated in the presentation of war news, because all newspapers used geographical divisions in the organisation of their issues. For example, reports from the Austrian Netherlands were placed under the header “France” in the *Groninger Courant* [Groningen Newspaper] after the French conquered the territory in 1794. Such adaptations were a standard feature; their absence can be explained by either ignorance or partisanship on the part of particular newspaper editors.²⁶ The Frisian *Leeuwarder Courant* [Leeuwarden Newspaper] founded in 1752 was the first—and for a long time the only—newspaper in the Dutch Republic which did not organise its

23 Joop W. Koopmans, ‘Supply and Speed of Foreign News to the Netherlands during the Eighteenth Century: A Comparison of Newspapers in Haarlem and Groningen’, in idem (ed.), *News and politics in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Leuven, Paris and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2005), pp. 185, 194–195.

24 See, e.g. *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* (OHC) of 16, 20, 23 and 27 March, 3, 10 and 17 April 1700.

25 Ibidem, 29 June, 1 and 6 July 1700. In the issue of 3 July 1700 the editor only mentioned the place name “Pinneberg”.

26 Koopmans, ‘Supply and Speed of Foreign News’, pp. 188–189.

news reports by country or territory but by subject theme.²⁷ One of the rubrics was “military news”, but war news could also be found under classifications like “political news” and “maritime news”.

It is difficult to determine the identity of war correspondents of early modern newspapers, and which alternative news sources emerged during war time. It is certain that across Europe news writers offered their services to newspaper editors. In addition, a substantial number of news reports were copied—in whole or in part—from other newspapers.²⁸ Editors of news digests like the *Hollantsche Mercurius* [Holland Mercury] (1651–1690) and the *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken* [Dutch Annuals] (1748–1766) made frequent use of newspaper reports and other sources for their summaries. The editors of newspapers and news digests were dependent on postal services for the delivery of newsletters from their correspondents at home and abroad. They encouraged the foundations of an organised postal system, which was largely shaped in the seventeenth century. Postmasters controlled the routes in the postal network, and could alter the same routes when interrupted by war or inclement weather.²⁹

3 Governments and War News

In the early modern period authorities were also actively involved in the dissemination of war news. Of course, authorities preferred to give notice of their own victories. But they also endeavoured to control and influence the availability of information through the publication of important policies, ordinances and military reports. In 1702 Paulus Scheltus was instructed by the Dutch States General to publish their *Manifest, houdende de redenen waerom*

27 Marcel Broersma, *Beschaafde vooruitgang: De wereld van de Leeuwarder Courant 1752–2002* (Leeuwarden: Friese Pers Boekerij, 2002).

28 Dirk H. Couvée, ‘De nieuwsgaring van de eerste courantiërs’, in *Pers, propaganda en openbare mening: Een bundel opstellen door vrienden en leerlingen aangeboden aan professor dr. Kurt Baschwitz ter gelegenheid van zijn 70ste verjaardag op 2 februari 1956* (Leiden: Stenfert Kroese, 1956), pp. 26–40, at pp. 27–30; Isabella H. van Eeghen, ‘De Amsterdamse Courant in de achttiende eeuw’, *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, 44 (1950), pp. 31–58, at pp. 40–41.

29 See here e.g. Heiko Droste, ‘Sending a Letter between Amsterdam and Stockholm: A Matter of Trust and Precautions’, in Hans Cools, Marika Keblusek and B. Noldus (eds.), *Your Humble Servant: Agents in Early Modern Europe* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2006), pp. 135–148, at pp. 135, 145–146. On the postal network within and to the Dutch Republic see Jacob C. Overvoorde, *Geschiedenis van het postwezen in Nederland vóór 1795, met de voornaamste verbindingen met het buitenland* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1902).

de Hoogh Mog[ende] Heeren Staten Generael (...) genoodtsaeckt zijn tegens de koningen van Vrancryck en Spaigne den oorlogh te declareren [Manifest, containing the reasons why the High and Mighty States General have deemed it necessary to declare war against the Kings of France and Spain]. Official publications of this sort generally led multiple lives, because they would also appear reprinted in newspapers and other news media; this declaration was, for example, also published in the *Europische Mercurius*.³⁰

Foreign courts were frequently opposed to war reporting in the Dutch Republic. In 1742 King Frederick the Great of Prussia complained to the Dutch ambassador in Berlin that Dutch newspapers were spreading false rumours concerning his campaigns in Silesia. He also notified the ambassador that he did not have plans to attack the Dutch Republic.³¹ Dutch authorities certainly tried to prevent the publication of undesirable reports during times of war, but an efficient system of preventative censorship was never implemented.³²

Thanks to alternative news circuits and diplomatic channels, it is not surprising that authorities received the latest information on campaigns or peace negotiations before newspaper editors or readers did. Donald Haks illustrates this point with the despatch of a letter on 4 September 1711 by Grand Pensionary Anthonie Heinsius to the pensionary of Amsterdam, the contents of which only appeared in the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* on 22 September. But we should not conclude from this that Dutch regents, in this phase of the War of the Spanish Succession, were necessarily well-informed.³³

The term “war news”, in its broad sense, includes reporting on truces, peace conferences and celebrations held in their aftermath. Such celebrations especially were imbued with a strong propagandistic element. Authorities organised days of prayer, bell-ringing, and festivities, including fireworks, theatrical performances, triumphal arches and other artful expressions, which bear close resemblance to the joyous entries introduced by mediaeval princes. Peace celebrations were subsequently covered in beautiful engravings, detailed descrip-

30 *EM*, 13/2 (1702), pp. 294–301; Donald Haks, ‘War, Government and the News: The Dutch Republic and the War of the Spanish Succession, 1702–1713’, in Joop W. Koopmans (ed.), *News and politics in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Leuven, Paris and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2005), pp. 167–184, at p. 171.

31 *EM*, 53/1 (1742), pp. 62–64.

32 Joop W. Koopmans, ‘Om de lieve vrede? Buitenlandse invloeden op de Nederlandse censuur in de achttiende eeuw’, in *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 11 (2004), pp. 83–97.

33 The content of the letter concerned an Englishman’s visit to France to negotiate peace. Haks, ‘War’, pp. 178–179.

tions and other accounts, allowing a wider public to experience the festivities.³⁴ Authorities also ordered commemorative medals to be struck to preserve memories of war and peace.³⁵

4 The Beginning of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War in Dutch News Media

On 20 December 1780 Great Britain declared war on the Dutch Republic, after almost a century of friendly relations. The British court was appalled by illicit Dutch trading with the American revolutionaries and the positive sentiments expressed by the Dutch Patriot movement to the Americans. Britain was also offended by the Dutch decision to join the so called First League of Armed Neutrality in November 1780.³⁶ These reasons were all invoked in the British declaration of war. How much of this appears in the Dutch news media?

The official declaration from London came after a prolonged period of tensions, so the war did not come as a surprise to the Dutch Republic. Rumours about the forthcoming war had been circulating for a while. They were fed by the sudden departure of the British ambassador from The Hague, reported by the *Leydse Courant* [Leiden Newspaper] in its issue of 25 December.³⁷ Two days later this newspaper also published extracts from letters from English correspondents, who discussed the war as a given fact. As one British correspondent wrote, “We find ourselves at war with the Republic (...) you can be assured of

34 See e.g. Martina Długaiczek, *Der Waffenstillstand (1609–1621) als Medienereignis: Politische Bildpropaganda in den Niederlanden* (Münster etc.: Waxmann, 2005), pp. 225–242 and Kornee van der Haven, “Dat heeft men uw Beleid, uw groot Beleid te danken”: Theatrale vieringen van de Vrede van Rijkswijk (1697) in Amsterdam en Hamburg, *Holland, Historisch Tijdschrift*, 36 (2004), pp. 313–326.

35 See e.g. Klinkert, *Nassau in het nieuws*, pp. 113, 146 en *EM*, 49/1 (1738), next to p. 246 (a commemorative medal celebrating twenty-five years of peace in the Dutch Republic).

36 This alliance, initiated by Russia, Sweden and Denmark was created in order to maintain free maritime trade, defended, if necessary, by force.

37 *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaerboeken etc.* (*NNJ*) (1781), pp. 26–27. Besides this source, this paragraph is mainly based on extracts from the *Leydse Courant* (*LeyC*), the *Leeuwarder Courant* (*LC*) and the *Groninger Courant* (*GrC*). The *LeyC* is representative for the Holland press, which enjoyed a national customer base. The other two newspapers are examples of the provincial Dutch press, which generally had to wait longest for news from England. These newspapers are not cited in the following if it is clear from which issue the information has been extracted. The following quote in Dutch read: “Wy bevinden ons in Oorlog met de Republiek (...) Gy kunt verzekerd zyn van de echtheid dezer tyding, schoon dezelve nog niet publiek is”, and “De verslagenheid zal tot uwent op deze tyding zekerlyk groot en algemeen zyn”.

the authenticity of this news, even if it has not yet been published". The seizure of Dutch ships on the Thames and the issuing of letters of marque by the British government confirmed this news too. "Your consternation on hearing this news will surely be great and widely shared", another English correspondent added. But according to the same, "each rational Englishman" was afraid too for the potentially miserable consequences of the war. In his issue of 29 December the editor of the Leiden newspaper announced that Dutch merchants in Ostend had been warned of the outbreak of war, and on 1 January 1781 he reported that the declaration of war had reached The Hague. However, the letters from England of 22 and 26 December had not yet arrived, "as a consequence of which we are not yet in a state to divulge the true balance of affairs between our republic and Great Britain." The *Leydse Courant* could only publish the declaration of war in the next issue, dated 3 January.

According to the editor of the *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaerboeken* [New Dutch Annals] British civil servants deliberately delayed the despatch of the declaration of war to the States General. Bad weather had caused even more delays.³⁸ Pieter 't Hoen strengthened this conspiracy theory by arguing in his *Post van den Neder-Rhijn* that the British had delayed the declaration of war in order to capture more Dutch merchantmen.³⁹ It is nevertheless true that the British declaration of war had become common knowledge in France before the Dutch Republic. With this episode Dutch news media had a particularly tough time.

The news from England reached the newspapermen in the northern provinces of the Dutch Republic several days later than their Holland colleagues. Even on 27 December 1780 one could still read in the *Leeuwarder Courant* [Leeuwarden Newspaper]:

From the river Main, 5 December. According to letters from Holland, the Dutch are preparing for war, which seems to indicate that they hold a war with Great Britain to be most probable, if not inevitable.⁴⁰

38 The editor of the *NNJ* added that the French court immediately despatched thirty couriers to all French ports in order to warn Dutch merchantmen. He also notes in his summary that the English had been able to confiscate sixty unsuspecting Dutch merchantmen by 2 January 1781. He notes that even the Turkish governor of Algiers had governed more generously in 1755 than "our Christian neighbours" when he allowed Dutch ships two months to depart Algerian ports before declaring war. *NNJ* (1781), pp. 27–30, 36. The *GrC* of 2 January 1781 also commented on the adverse weather conditions, but according to the *LeyC* of 1 January wind and weather had played a minor role.

39 Theeuwens, *Pieter 't Hoen en De Post*, pp. 133–134.

40 Quote in Dutch: "Van den Mayn den 5 December. Volgens brieven uit Holland, maakt de Republiek zeer ernstige Krygstoerusting, welke schynen aan te duiden, dat zy eenen

Many readers, especially those who will have had the chance to read the Holland papers of a few days earlier, will have judged this report rather dated. News concerning the departure of the British ambassador was only related in the *Leeuwarder Courant* on 30 December, accompanied by a declaration of the States of Friesland in which they expressed forebodings that his departure would have consequences. The States ordered all mariners to prepare themselves for any eventuality.⁴¹ Yet even this notification was not an official confirmation of the British declaration of war. On 3 January 1781 the *Leeuwarder Courant* still doubted if there was to be war. Only on 6 January did the newspaper abandon this uncertainty. In large typefaces at the top of the paper the issue announced that: "Tomorrow morning at 10 a.m. there will be published a supplement, available for half a stiver, in which one will find the declaration of war against the Dutch (...)."

Until the naval battle of Dogger Bank, which would take place on 5 August 1781, Dutch newspaper reports on the war consisted largely of lists of ships captured by the English, the texts of declarations and placards issued by the States General, reports on naval manoeuvres, further preparations of war and minor incidents. For example, the *Leydse Courant* reported on a fight that had broken out between a group of English sailors and three Dutch mariners in the harbour of Lisbon.⁴² Otherwise the newspapers limited themselves to anxious questions or suspicions on the potentially negative economic consequences of the war.⁴³ Only the placard of the States General issued at the start of the conflict on the remunerations to sailors for the loss of limbs gave readers any indication of the expected physical toll of the conflict. The loss of both eyes would be compensated with 1,500 guilders; a single eye with 350 guilders; and other sums for the loss of arms, legs, hands and feet (see Figure 33).⁴⁴

Oorlog met Groot-Brittagne, in dien niet voor geheel onvermydelyk, ten minste voor zeer waarschylyk houdt." This report is also a typical example of the indirect news reporting of the early modern period: a Dutch newspaper printing a report from the German Mainz on affairs in the Dutch Republic.

41 This justification is dated 28 December 1780. The *GrC* noted the departure of the ambassador in the issue of 29 December, and commented that Great Britain had broken the "brotherly friendship" of the two nations.

42 *LeyC*, 25 April 1781.

43 According to the *NNJ* there were considerable financial implications to the war. The inhabitants of the Dutch Republic owned more than 300 million guilders worth of estates in England, which contributed an annual 25 million guilders of rent. *NNJ* (1781), p. 38.

44 E.g. *LeyC*, 17 January 1781; *GrC*, 19 January 1787 and *LC*, 20 January 1787 (Na-Courant).

PUBLICATIE Tot Soulagement der Verminkten.

DE STAATEN GENERAAL DER VEREENIGDE NEDERLANDEN: Allen den geenen, die dezen zullen zien of horen Leezen, Salut: *Doen te weten*; dat Wy tot encouragement van de goede Ingezeeten en van dezen Staat, goedgevonden hebben by de tegenwoordige Publicatie eenen iegelyken te notificceeren en bekend te maaken, ook te verzekeren, dat alle die geenen die in 's Lands Dienst ten Oorloge te Water zodaanig zullen komen verminkt te worden, dat dezelve onbekwaam zullen zyn zig te kunnen geneeren, by zo verre zy by uitkoop begeeren gesoulageerd te weezen, zullen genieten na de qualiteit van hun Verminktheid, als hier onder staat gespecificeerd.

1. Voor het Verlies van beide de Oogen. f 1500
- Voor het Verlies van een Oog. 350
- En voor andere Accidenten of Verminktheden aan dezelve, beneden de voorz. respectie Sommen, ter discretie van de Collegien ter Admiraliteit daar onder ieder ressorteerd.
2. Voor het Verlies van beide de Armen. 1500
- Voor het Verlies van den rechter Arm. 450
- Voor het Verlies van den linker Arm. 350
- En voor andere Accidenten of Verminktheden aan dezelve, beneden de voorz. respectie Sommen, ter discretie als vooren.
3. Voor het Verlies van beide de Handen. 1200
- Voor het Verlies van de regter Hand. 350
- Voor het Verlies van de linker Hand. 300
- En voor mindere Accidenten en Verminktheden aan dezelve, beneden de voorz. respectie Sommen, ter discretie als vooren.
4. Voor het Verlies van beide de Beenen. 700
- Voor het Verlies van een Been. 350
- En voor minder Accidenten als beneden de voorz. respectie Sommen, ter discretie als vooren.
5. Voor het Verlies van beide de Voeten. 450
- Voor het Verlies van een Voet. 200

FIGURE 33 Announcement of the States General on the remunerations offered to wounded mariners for the loss of eyes or limbs
LEYDSE COURANT, 17 JANUARY 1781. UNIVERSITY OF LEIDEN LIBRARY, THE NETHERLANDS

It is remarkable that the tone of reporting in the Orangist *Leeuwarder Courant*⁴⁵ and the Patriot *Groninger Courant* [Groningen Newspaper] at the start of the war was more jingoistic than the neutral *Leydse Courant*.⁴⁶ While the *Groninger Courant* commented on the “bitter”, “sad and painful” reports when discussing news of confiscated Dutch merchantmen, taken by the “vengeful Brits”, the *Leydse Courant* simply printed the names of the ships in question.⁴⁷ On 17 January 1781 the *Leeuwarder Courant* cited a rousing patriotic poem, the tone of

45 In *LC*, 6 January 1781 Stadtholder William V is presented as “His Illustrious Highness, impassioned by the purest love for our fatherland.”

46 The *LeyC* would become more infused with Patriot sentiments in the following years.

47 E.g. *LeyC*, 26 January 1781 and *GrC*, 12 January and 9 February 1781.

which is illustrated finely by the first couplet: “It is now no time for dozing or sleeping: / Wake up, wake up, O old Dutch lion! / Hear the wild rumble of the coming cries of war: / They call all over: To arms! To arms!”⁴⁸ However, the indecisive battle at Dogger Bank was still presented by the *Leydse Courant* as a Dutch victory. With some delight the Leiden paper confirmed that the English vice-admiral Hyde Parker had revised upwards his totals of the number of English casualties; afterwards the paper took aim at the English newspapers, which could no longer typify the Dutch after the battle as “ungrateful and faithless figures”. The report ended with the conclusion “so one sees all lies vanquished and the truth victorious.”⁴⁹

There was little place for negative reports of maritime policy in Dutch newspapers. Rather, the newspapers were expected to assist the authorities in denouncing subversive commentary, such as that printed in the *Noord-Hollandsche Courant* [North-Holland Newspaper] on 17 August 1781. A public response from the authorities in The Hague (printed in several newspapers) admonished: “How dares that editor write in his newspaper that the [Dutch] fleet was sending its sailors to death like sheep in a slaughterhouse?”⁵⁰ Critical commentary could be found in some Dutch media, but readers would have to find it in more politicised pamphlets and periodicals like the *Post van den Neder-Rhijn*.⁵¹

5 Conclusion

What war news was available in the Republic, how did Dutch news writers garner their reports during war time, and how did they present this information? How quickly did reports from war zones reach Dutch readers, and what can we say about their reliability? The above discussion has made clear that not all of these questions can be answered easily. Especially the question of reliability of war news warrants further reflection. Wars tend to foster biased, partisan and false news. Early modern news writers were among the first to declare openly (and often) that they did not truly know what was happening.

48 Quote in Dutch: “t Is nu geen tyd van sluimeren of slapen: | Ontwaak, ontwaak, o Holands gryze Leeuw! | Hoor 't woest gedruisch van 't nadrend Krygsgeschreeuw: | 't Roept van alom: te Wapen! op! Te Wapen!” The *LC* mentions the *Delfsche Courant*, which was officially called the *Hollandsche Historische Courant*, as the source.

49 E.g. *LeyC*, 13 and 20 August and 10 September 1781.

50 *LeyC*, 20 August 1781; *LC*, 25 August 1781. The *GrC* did not place this announcement.

51 Theeuwens, *Pieter 't Hoen en De Post*, pp. 131–141.

During the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War one could read repeatedly in newspapers that no news was available, except for a few rumours doing the rounds.⁵² Modern journalists could certainly learn something in this regard from their early modern colleagues. Today sensationalism plays a dominant role in the selection of news, and it is commercially unattractive for newsmen to admit that they do not know the truth of the matter. This point was also made recently by the reporter and Arabist Joris Luyendijk in his book on his work as war correspondent in the Middle East. Luyendijk criticised the lack of acknowledgement on the part of the news media of the restrictions they face when reporting war news, speaking especially with regards to the Second Palestinian Intifada (from 2000) and the invasion of Iraq in 2003. Journalists thereby play a significant role in the persistence of preconceived perceptions and judgements.⁵³

There are of course numerous other comparisons and differences between modern and early modern war news, far too many to discuss here. A last difference is, however, worth mentioning. The Western media today devotes far more attention to acts of violence and the plight of the victims of war than the early modern press. This difference can be explained by a change in the mentality surrounding life and death, a very different character of warfare and the heightened involvement of civic society in the wars of the last few centuries. But with these reflections we find ourselves in very different waters.

52 See e.g. *LeyC*, 5 and 18 January and 30 July 1781 and *GrC*, 16 January 1781.

53 Joris Luyendijk, *Het zijn net mensen: Beelden uit het Midden-Oosten* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Podium B.V., 2006). Luyendijk was in the Middle East between 1998 and 2003. He was taken aback both by the journalistic restrictions imposed by the Arab dictatorships and the limited understanding in Western democracies of the media landscape of the Middle East, including the effective propaganda strategies organised by the state of Israel.

Dutch Censorship in Relation to Foreign Contacts (1581–1795)*

In 1745, during the War of the Austrian Succession, the Dutch Estates General expressed their dissatisfaction with the publication of *Le petit almanac universel*. The delegates had heard that this booklet, published by the Maastricht printer Jacques Delessart, contained unseemly descriptions of friendly nations. The Dutch envoy to the Saxon court, Cornelis Calkoen, had passed on complaints of this nature about the little almanac. The Estates General then instructed the Maastricht magistrate to ask the printer to name the author. During interrogation, Delessart admitted that he was responsible for the content himself; he also revealed the title from which he had borrowed his ethnological descriptions. The answer from Maastricht stated that Delessart had neglected to ask permission for the publication of the book, although the city magistrate had ordered him to do so several years earlier. In their response, the Estates General instructed Maastricht to notify Delessart of their displeasure again and to insist that he uphold his responsibilities. Thus, no more than a severe caution was issued. The city was also instructed to prevent the publication of similar works. Meanwhile, the Estates General tried to limit the diplomatic damage by informing Calkoen and two other envoys about the steps they had taken.¹ Since the latter two maintained contacts with Russia, we may conclude that the passages criticised also concerned the Russian people. However, it is difficult to corroborate this, because as far as we know no copies of the almanac have been preserved.²

* This chapter was earlier published in Hanno Brand (ed.), *Trade, Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange: Continuity and Change in the North Sea and the Baltic c. 1350–1750* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2005), pp. 220–237.

- 1 Delessart admitted that he had copied information from A.D. Fer, *Méthode abrégée & facile pour apprendre la géographie*. Resoluties Staten-Generaal, 20 February 1745 (consulted in Regionaal Historisch Centrum Groninger Archieven, Staten van Stad en Lande [1594–1798], inv.nr. 1178, pp. 74, 138); Willem P.C. Knuttel, *Verboden boeken in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden: Beredeneerde catalogus* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1914) (henceforth referred to as 'Knuttel'), nr. 12.
- 2 The title only is also mentioned in Edgar Heynen, 'Maastrichtse drukken (1552–1816): Eerste gedeelte (1552–1782)', *Publications de la Société Historique et Archéologique dans le Limbourg*, 83 (1947), pp. 1–174, at p. 65 (nr. 196).

The Dutch Republic has an international reputation as a country with considerable freedom of the press, but the above example shows that this freedom was in fact limited to some extent. In recent historiography, therefore, this characteristic is only used in a relative sense.³ Nevertheless, many publications that were controversial elsewhere found their way to the printing presses in this country. A considerable percentage of these works was solely intended for the foreign market. It does not require much imagination to realise that this smuggling was a thorn in the side of foreign courts. Neighbouring states attempted to stop the import of undesirable publications, but these efforts met with little success.⁴ Occasionally they would instruct their envoys in The Hague to advocate publication bans on such works. In addition, the Dutch authorities censored certain titles even without receiving such requests because they did not wish to jeopardise diplomatic relations with the countries involved.

In this article, I will use various examples to show why and to what extent the Republic was willing to comply with censorship requests from other European nations or otherwise took its foreign relations into account in its censorship policy. Which countries submitted censorship requests and how frequently? What type of requests did the Republic respond to immediately and without much debate, and do we know of any cases where it did not yield to foreign pressure or only after persistent exhortation? These questions have a wider implication than the theme of censorship as such since they are related to the foreign policy and diplomacy of the Republic. They imply the interference of other states with a sovereign policy domain of this state. They also shed light on the relative power and independence of the Republic—a small country highly dependent on trade—in early modern Europe. A subsequent question therefore concerns the motives underlying the decisions made about the foreign requests. Were these mainly inspired by political, economic, moral, or yet other concerns?

3 See, e.g. Ingrid Weekhout, *Boekencensuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden: De vrijheid van drukpers in de zeventiende eeuw* (The Hague: Sdu Uitgevers) and Simon Groenveld, 'The Mecca of Authors? State Assemblies and Censorship in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic', in Alastair C. Duke and Coen A. Tamse (eds.), *Too Mighty to be Free: Censorship and the Press in Britain and the Netherlands* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1987), pp. 63–86.

4 See e.g. Paul G. Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers bij de Beurs: De geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse boekhandels Bruyning en Swart, 1637–1724* (Amsterdam and Maarsse: APA-Holland University Press, 1987), pp. 7–8, 99–113; Jonathan Israel, 'The Publishing of Forbidden Philosophical Works in the Dutch Republic (1666–1710) and their European Distribution', in Lotte Hellinga etc. (eds.), *The Bookshop of the World: The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-trade 1473–1941* ('t Goy-Houten: Hes and De Graaf, 2001), pp. 233–243.

Any study of censorship in the early modern era is soon confronted with various problems. For example, governments usually gave only general arguments for their censorship measures, so that it remains unclear which objectionable passages were the critical factor in the decision-making. Moreover, the documented motivations will often have been inspired by implicit motives. A study of government censorship in the Republic is complicated principally because this country was a confederacy in which the central, regional, and local authorities all had the power to suppress undesirable printing. Other authorities had to support a positive response of the Estates General to a foreign censorship request if this was to have any effect. The dominant province of Holland, in which most printers, publishers, and booksellers had their businesses, was the most important in this respect. Foreign delegates therefore often tried to influence the representatives of this province directly. The Republic's complicated form of government thus reduced the effectiveness of censorship measures. This also depended on several other factors. Retrospective censorship, for example, only had a limited effect. Copies sold had already reached their audience and searches of the premises of private citizens—unlike those of booksellers—were not undertaken as a rule.⁵ To answer these questions, we should further realise that there has been no systematic study of cases of Dutch censorship in all the relevant archives. Although many cases have been described, it is not clear to what extent these are representative.⁶

1 English Complaints and Preventive Policy

In 1588 the States of Utrecht took the first Dutch precautionary measures against insulting texts to Queen Elizabeth of England. The invented stories suggested an agreement between the English and Spain. The author's informer would be rewarded with thousand guilders.⁷ In 1599, the English member of the Dutch Council of State, George Gilpin, objected to the publication of a

5 See also Joop W. Koopmans, 'Censuur: Over of onder de toonbank?', in Anna de Haas with Peter Altena (eds.), *Achter slot en grendel: Schrijvers in Nederlandse gevangenschap (1700–1800)* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2002), pp. 15–25 and 223–224, at pp. 17–19.

6 The main pioneering work in this area is the survey compiled by Knuttel. On the basis of the sources in the Nationaal Archief (National Archives) in The Hague, Groenvelde, 'The Mecca', p. 74 (Table 4), counted 57 publication bans on political tracts—unfortunately without giving further details. No such study has been conducted for the eighteenth century.

7 Johan van de Water, *Groot Utrechts placaatboek*, vol. 1 (Utrecht: Jacob van Poolsum 1729), pp. 732–733. Johannes T. Bodel Nijenhuis, *De wetgeving op drukpers en boekhandel in de Nederlanden tot in het begin der XIXe eeuw* (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, 1892), p. 101.

text detrimental to the interests of the same queen because it discussed the rights of the Scottish king James VI to the English throne. Gilpin requested the Estates General to urge the Dutch provinces to carry out preventive inspections of English publications translated into Dutch. Since the Estates General did not want to encroach on the provincial sovereignty in this policy area, the request was conveyed orally to the delegates of the provinces who in turn informed their respective Estates. The Estates of Holland, who held their meetings near the Estates General, decided the same day to send a letter to the cities of Holland to prohibit the printing of the text in question in any language.⁸ In this way, they helped to maintain good relations with Queen Elizabeth, who had been a long-time ally of the Republic in its struggle against Spain.

In 1611, James—now king of England—witnessed to his amazement that the Estates of Holland had banned a work he had written himself. It concerned his written protest against the appointment of Arminian Conradus Vorstius as professor in Leiden. This appointment had caused much upheaval in Holland and the Estates of this province did not want to exacerbate the situation.⁹ This case shows that the Estates did not tolerate any foreign interference in such appointments and that they even dared to ban a royal text, despite the fact that this might cause a strain in the relations with King James. The Estates General attempted to placate the king by thanking him cordially for his concern about the safeguarding of the Reformed religion in the Republic.¹⁰ It will be obvious what King James thought about this reaction.

In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, it was mainly the English envoys—although their French colleagues should not be overlooked—who asked the Estates General for publication bans. According to Weekhout, the Dutch delegates only made a positive decision when it served the national interest—a concept with a broad meaning. As an example, she mentions the ban issued in 1617 by the Estates General (and some provinces) on a pamphlet attacking the English ambassador Sir Dudley Carleton. This anonymous tract vehemently criticised the English interference in the Dutch religious disputes during the Twelve Years' Truce with Spain.¹¹ This ban is a good case in point

8 *Resolutien van de Staten van Holland ende West-vriesland (ResSvH)* ([The Hague: s.n., 1669–]) 1599, p. 297 (17 August); Groenveld, 'The Mecca', p. 69; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 35.

9 The protest lodged by the English envoy Rudolph Winwood was also censored. Knuttel, nrs. 268 and 292; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, pp. 44 and 411.

10 *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal. Nieuwe reeks 1610–1670 (ResStGen)*, vol. 1, 1610–1612. Arie Th. van Deursen (ed.), Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Grote Serie (RGP GS) 135 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1971), pp. 485, 524 and 526.

11 This concerned a pamphlet entitled *Weegh-schael: Om in alle billickheydt recht te over-*

because the main reason for the Estates General to issue it was to quell civil unrest. At the same time, it protected the diplomatic relations with England, because—as we have seen—the pamphlet criticised the English envoy. It took a great deal of effort to calm Carleton down. The ambassador made tough demands concerning the persecution of the perpetrators. He even wanted to punish those who knew the author or the printer, a virtually impossible task. In 1618, he made two more requests to the Estates General to exhort the provinces who had not yet taken measures to suppress the pamphlet to still do so. He particularly had Utrecht in mind, where the pamphlet had been printed and where it was still being sold. The Estates of this province only reported back in September 1618 that the printer had turned himself in and had named the author. The English ambassador subsequently devoted his energies to protesting against a French translation of the pamphlet.¹²

Now on his guard, Carleton continued to keep a close watch on printers' activities in the Republic after this affair. Partly as a result of his efforts, the Leiden-based Pilgrim Press of Brewer and Brewster ceased its activities in 1619. For three years, this company had been printing Puritanical writings that had been banned in England. For strategic reasons, the Republic was satisfied with this outcome because its truce with Spain was soon to end, and it therefore could ill afford to harm its relations with James I.¹³ In 1620, Carleton requested that the Dutch edict regulating printers' activities should be tightened up by the inclusion of an article prohibiting authors to write about the sovereigns and envoys of friendly nations. The Estates General promised to consider this issue in their next deliberations about the censorship laws. Carleton also wanted them to take measures against seditious publications printed in the Netherlands and circulated in England and Scotland.¹⁴ Besides incidental requests for the prohibition of specific publications, the English lobby therefore promoted preventive censorship in the Republic. The Estates General were not immediately prepared to give in to all their wishes. Further diplomatic pressure from England was necessary before they issued a new edict. The decision to do so

weghen de oratie van Dudley Carleton etc. (S.l.: s.n., 1617), written by the Remonstrant minister Jacobus Taurinus. Knuttel, nr. 439; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 47.

12 *ResStGen*, vol. 3, 1617–1618. Johannes G. Smit (ed.), RGP GS 152 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1975), pp. 275, 280–282, 289, 292, 314, 319, 340–341, 488, 495, 500, 506.

13 Henry M. Dexter and Morton Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims* (Boston etc.: Houghton, Mifflin & Co, 1906), pp. 578–581; Keith L. Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower: English Puritan Printing in the Netherlands 1600–1640* (Leiden, New York and Cologne: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp. 137–141.

14 See e.g. *ResStGen*, vol. 4, 1619–1620. Smit and Johanna Roelevink (eds.), RGP GS 176 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1981), pp. 303–304, 408, 658.

was made in January 1621, shortly before the end of the Twelve Years' Truce. For the first time, the edict included measures against the export of publications that could cause problems with other states.¹⁵ Carleton made a personal appearance in the Estates General to congratulate the deputies on the edict. It is typical of the man that he took this opportunity to point out that Amsterdam had recently made a mistake in allowing the publication of a negative pamphlet about James I and his court. In this case, the issue was quickly resolved; only a week later, Carleton could already thank the delegates for the ban they had imposed.¹⁶

Another interesting example of Carleton's diplomatic interest in Dutch printed matter dates from 1624. In that year, he succeeded in convincing the Estates General to ban the *Waerachtich Verhael van de tijdinghen gecomen wt de Oost-Indien* [*True Story of the tidings that came from the East Indies*]. This publication described a conspiracy of several Englishmen on Amboina plotting against representatives of the Dutch East India Company who had destroyed an English settlement on the island in the previous year. In response to the plot they had summarily arrested, tortured and executed the Englishmen. The Estates General were prepared to impose censorship because the *Verhael* would only lead to more distrust, discord, and disagreement between England and the Dutch Company. This motivation shows that the Estates General were only too willing to cover up the affair. However, censorship of the publication proved to be wholly insufficient as a means of restoring the diplomatic relations. The affair would continue to sour the relationship between the Republic and England, and would come up, for example, as a point of controversy in the English declaration of war on the Dutch in 1652.¹⁷ During the peace negotiations two years later, Cromwell forced the Republic to recompense the next of kin of the executed men with a sum of money and a small island.

The publication in the last year of the First Dutch War (1652–1654) of an 'eye salve for the Dutch', which the title page stated had been printed 'in the

15 In 1608, the Estates General had already published an edict targeting all publications that could harm the interests of the Republic and its allies. On the brink of signing a peace treaty or truce with Spain, the Estates did not want the negotiations jeopardised by undesirable publications. Groenveld regards this edict as a sign of the growing confidence of the Estates General in their dealings with the press. Groenveld, 'The Mecca', pp. 69–70; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 48.

16 The title of the pamphlet was *Nieuwe Tydingen wt den Conseio, ofte Secreten Raedt van Spangien*. *ResStGen*, vol. V 1621–1622. Roelevink (ed.), RGP GS 187 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1983), pp. 19, 66 and 74.

17 *ResStGen*, vol. 7, 1 July 1624–31 December 1625. Roelevink (ed.), RGP GS 223 (The Hague: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1994), pp. 59, 62, 64, 73–74, 290; Knuttel, nr. 407.

first year of the government of the foremost traitor [i.e. Cromwell] and in the sixth year of his tyranny' must also have been inconvenient. The Court of Holland banned this political tract because it was full of libel and only incited hate against Cromwell's English Republic. At 1000 guilders, the reward set for identifying the author or the printer was high.¹⁸ Thus the court hoped to appease Cromwell's followers.

Despite preventive censorship edicts, various publications appearing in the Low Countries before and after 1650 were considered dangerous, libellous, or undesirable for other reasons by the English. After his final departure in 1632, Carleton's successors would therefore continue in his footsteps and investigate the press and exert diplomatic pressure as instructed by their government. In their efforts, they did not refrain from employing spies.¹⁹ Also well known are the efforts of Archbishop William Laud against 'scandalous books from Holland' in around 1630. He was mainly concerned with Puritanical literature and versions of the Bible not authorised by the Anglican Church.²⁰ In 1639, the Estates General prolonged the ban on pamphlets that got on the nerves of other states, thus including those of the English king Charles I. The Republic did not wish to provide England with an excuse to seek a reconciliation with Spain.²¹

The English Civil War and the execution of Charles I in 1649 gave rise to a new series of texts published in the Netherlands that led to complaints from London. The Dutch authorities regarded this stream of pamphlets with concern because they wished to remain neutral with respect to the developments in England. Meanwhile, the English mainly found a willing ear for their complaints among the delegates of the province of Holland instead of the Estates General. In 1649, for example, the Estates left it to Holland to ban *Regis Caroli casus*, a pamphlet that attacked Charles I and had been written by John Cooke.²² Soon after, the representatives of Holland instructed the ministers

18 Knuttel, nr. 82. The title of the pamphlet was *Den (t'onrecht getituleerden) heer protecteurs Brouwaten met Cromwels meyneedicheyt als mede een oogh-salve voor de Hollanders* (Amsterdam: s.n., 1654).

19 Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 65. For information about foreign envoys to the Republic, see Otto Schutte, *Repertorium der buitenlandse vertegenwoordigers, residerende in Nederland 1584–1810*. RGP (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1983).

20 Harry Carter, 'Archbishop Laud and scandalous books from Holland', in Sape van der Woude (ed.), *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de La Fontaine Verwey* (Amsterdam: Amstelodami, [1968]), pp. 43–55.

21 Groenveld, 'The Mecca', p. 70. Despite this edict, the anti-English pamphlet *Extrait de la maladie et guerison de l'Angleterre* written by J. Geul was published in 1645 and then banned by the Court of Holland. Knuttel, nr. 136.

22 *ResSvH* 1649, p. 99 (23 April); Knuttel, nr. 100. See also Weekhout, *Boekverboden*, p. 69.

in their province to omit mention of the English conflicts in their sermons. In addition, they took the initiative to ban publications that provoked foreign sovereigns. In January 1650, they issued a new censorship edict that contained penalties for writers, publishers, printers, and booksellers violating the edict. Thus they hoped to prevent further debate about the internal conflicts in England. According to the representatives of Holland, the Estates General, where the other provinces grumbled about the publication and dissemination costs of an edict, responded much too slowly to their call for action.²³

The positive response of the Estates of Holland to a publication ban requested by Walter Strickland in 1650 is another example of courtesy towards England. This English ambassador had requested that Claude Saumaise's *Defensio regia pro rege Carolo primi &c.* be withdrawn from the market. In practice, the ban came too late, since several thousand copies had already been sold.²⁴ Thus in fact the Estates of Holland were fobbing Strickland off. The English royalist printer-bookseller Samuel Browne, who had moved to The Hague out of necessity, also belonged to those who did not abide by the Dutch edict—understandable in view of his political leanings. In 1651, the Court of Holland sentenced him to a fine of one thousand guilders and perpetual banishment from The Hague for publishing an anonymous pamphlet criticising the Dutch recognition of the English parliament. Attempts were apparently never made to enforce the sentence since Browne continued to operate freely in The Hague. A year later, he was even given a commission by the Estates General. It seems likely, as Keblusek has assumed, that the sentence was only imposed to appease the republican government in England. Because of his mastery of both English and Dutch, Browne was able to supply the authorities with translations and news from his native country. Keblusek explains the thoroughly ambivalent actions of the Dutch authorities at the time from this dependence.²⁵ While on the one hand those in power were attempting to prevent the dissemination of political tracts, on the other hand they were buying such materials from the transgressors to keep up-to-date.

23 *ResSvH* 1649, pp. 360–361, 363, 372 (18–20 December); 1650, pp. 6–7, 24 (13, 14 and 21 January); Groenveld, 'The Mecca', pp. 71–72; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, pp. 49, 51.

24 *ResSvH* 1650, pp. 17–19, 23 (18–20 January). According to Marika Keblusek, *Boeken in de hofstad: Haagse boekcultuur in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), p. 282, the Estates of Holland banned the Dutch translation in April; the earlier resolution had stipulated a ban on the text regardless of the language used in the publication.

25 Knuttel, nr. 431; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 70; Keblusek, *Boeken*, pp. 128, 136–137, 274, 282–283, 294. Samuel Browne had moved to the Republic after his entire stock had been confiscated in London in 1643. In around 1645, he moved to Heidelberg.

In 1651, the Estates General increased the preventive censorship by issuing an edict that prohibited the slander of foreign—in particular friendly—sovereigns. Nevertheless, publications printed in the Republic would regularly lead to English protests in the second half of the seventeenth century too. In 1664, for example, Charles II and his ambassador George Downing lodged a complaint with the Estates General about a placard that defamed the Duke of York, the brother of the king. The Court of Holland then issued a ban.²⁶ Hoftijzer has already discussed the commotion surrounding the anti-English propaganda printed by the Swart and Bruyning printing companies in Amsterdam during the reigns of Charles II and his brother James II. He described, for example, the lukewarm response to the protests of the English envoy Thomas Chudleigh against two attacks on the English royal family printed in English in 1683, of which Dutch and French translations were also in circulation. Initially, the Dutch authorities had only counselled the booksellers not to sell these tracts, which had infuriated Chudleigh. Punitive measures only followed in 1685.²⁷ Conversely, following vehement protests by the English envoy D'Albyville in 1688, the authorities immediately took energetic steps against two indecent pamphlets—even before the change of power in England in that same year. In these cases, the Estates General themselves were also highly critical of their politically undesirable content.²⁸

After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the Republic no longer functioned as a home for English exiles marketing tracts attacking their own regime.²⁹ This greatly reduced the occasions for English censorship requests conveyed

26 *ResSvH* 1664, p. 12 (14 March); Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers*, p. 134; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 383 (nr. 168).

27 Knuttel, nr. 283; Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers*, pp. 141–144 and *passim*; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 64. The titles of these pamphlets were *An Impartiall Enquiry into the Administration of Affairs in England with Some Reflexion on the King's Declaration of July 27th, 1683* and [R. Ferguson,] *An Enquiry into and Detection of the Barbarous Murder of the Late Earl of Essex*.

28 Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, pp. 65, 72. The titles of these pamphlets were *Nouvelles prédications* and *Triomphe de la liberté*. For other bans related to England in these years see e.g. Knuttel, nrs. 359 (in 1670, at the instigation of Dutch envoys in England!), 35 (in 1673), 130 (in 1683), 270 (in 1685), and 106 (in 1688; for this case see Arend H. Huussen Jr., 'Censorship in the Netherlands', in Robert P. Maccubbin and Martha Hamilton-Phillips (eds.), *The Age of William & Mary: Power, Politics, and Patronage 1688–1702: A Reference Encyclopedia and Exhibition Catalogue* (Williamsburg, VA: The College of William and Mary etc, 1989), pp. 347–351, at p. 348). Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekcensuur*, p. 146, states that the Republic took action in 1685 because it could not let the perpetrators of lese-majesty remain unpunished in view of the officially friendly relations between the two countries.

29 Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers*, pp. 9, 156.

to The Hague. The dual role of King-Stadtholder William III after 1688 will have prompted the Republic to give in to England more than ever in this respect. It did not require a complaint from London, for example, to incite Holland to take action in 1693 when a shipload of pasquinades about the King-Stadtholder intended for Scotland was intercepted in the port of Brielle.³⁰ In the eighteenth century, English criticisms of the Dutch press policy stopped entirely. The main reason was that the British press had itself been given more freedom by then.³¹ From 1711 dates a positive response from Holland to a request made by Queen Anne to ban a pamphlet written in French about the Act of Abjuration. In accordance with this act, British civil servants had to swear allegiance to the Protestant succession in their country. The Court of Holland closed the shop of the publisher of the tract.³² Since the request was lodged at the time of the Spanish War of Succession, in which the Republic and England were on the same side, the Dutch Reformed dignitaries would have accepted this request without difficulty.

Hoftijzer concluded that the English protests against undesirable publications lodged with the Dutch authorities in the seventeenth century generally met with little success.³³ This conclusion appears to be correct if we restrict ourselves to the limited effectiveness of occasional bans and the general complaints lodged by English ambassadors against large-scale smuggling. However, the examples described above warrant some qualification in terms of time. The Dutch handled English censorship requests prudently in periods when the Republic was an ally of England, when the country's destiny partly depended on English support, and when they wished to remain neutral in English internal conflicts. The cases described above show that the Dutch authorities were indeed prepared to ban certain publications following English requests. However, it is not surprising that the Republic left English exiles who used the printing press to agitate against the Catholic aspirations of the Stuarts in peace, and itself ordered anti-English propaganda shipped across the North Sea during its wars with England.

30 Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 421 (note 313). See also Huussen, 'Censorship', pp. 348–350.

31 See e.g. Graham C. Gibbs, 'Government and the English Press, 1695 to the Middle of the Eighteenth Century', in Duke and Tamse (eds.), *Too Mighty*, pp. 87–106.

32 The publisher was W. de Voys. *ResSvH* 1711, p. 509 (15 September); Knuttel, nr. 142. Other known examples are a ban on an anti-English pamphlet by the Court of Holland in 1758 and a ban issued by The Hague on an anti-English poem in 1782, during the last Dutch War. See Knuttel, nrs. 208 and 286.

33 Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers*, p. 9 (with reference to his chapters v and vi).

2 Censorship for Scandinavia and Russia

Compared with England, the Lutheran Scandinavian states and Greek-Orthodox Russia only rarely appealed to the Republic to protest against undesirable publications. Explanations for this difference are based on the difference in international rank order, the greater distance from the Republic from a geographical perspective, and the smaller domestic readership in these parts of Europe. These factors simply made the chance of risky texts being published smaller. Also, in view of the relatively limited trade with the Republic, the Russian court in particular need not have feared being confronted within its territory by a torrent of 'dangerous' or 'scandalous' writings emanating from the Republic. The small Scandinavian markets, too, were not attractive enough for Dutch publishers to devote energy to publications about this region or written in a Scandinavian language. The cases described below show that the censorship requests originating in these countries were mainly intended to uphold the prestige and image of the sovereign and the nation. Foreign envoys all over the world therefore always monitor the news about their own countries. Even without protests, the Republic willingly banned texts that would irritate Scandinavia and Russia during periods in which it maintained friendly relations with these countries.

A documented Swedish case that caused any upheaval dates from 1645. In that year, the Court of Holland prohibited the publication of the *Remonstrantie van de Koninglycke Sweedsche heer resident* [*Remonstrance of the Royal Swedish gentleman resident*], which contained several decisions made by the Estates and the Court of Holland as appendices. According to Weekhout, the ban was issued at the request of Sweden but this does not follow from the work by Keblusek she quotes. What is clear is that the Swedish resident, Peter Spiering Silfvercrona, had on two occasions directed a clerk to buy several copies of the remonstrance from Catharina de Putter, a bookseller in The Hague. During his second visit, the clerk had told the bookseller that she could safely display the book in her shop window. In the meantime, the Swedish resident was to write a defence. The reasons given in the Court's decision show that the publication was banned because it included government documents not open to the public. The Court was annoyed that these papers, which dealt with the Danish-Swedish War, had thus nevertheless reached the public.³⁴

34 Nationaal Archief, The Hague, Hof van Holland, Criminele papieren 1572–1810, inv.nr. 5239 (dossier 9); Knuttel, nr. 347; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 64; Keblusek, *Boeken*, pp. 127–128, 136. In 1681, the Dutch envoy in Sweden warned the Grand Pensionary of Holland on account of a wrong report in the Haarlem newspaper. See Willem Pieter Sautijn Kluit, 'De

Denmark enters the censorship stage on several occasions, the first time in 1672 when the Estates of Holland took measures against the *Authentijcque missive uyt Bremen* [*Authentic missive from Bremen*]. The Danish envoy Just Høg had lodged a complaint about this pamphlet because its content could lead to the conclusion that Sweden was insecure about the position of the Danish King, while it was known at the time that he had pro-French leanings.³⁵ In 1678, the Estates of Holland curbed the reprinting and selling of the *Histoire du Comte d'Ulefeld* because this publication contained passages disagreeable to the Danish court. According to the resolution, complaints about this book had reached the Grand Pensionary of Holland.³⁶ Corfits Ulfeldt, a son-in-law of the Danish King Christian IV who had died in 1648, was known for his remarkable political career. On his return from an almost regal visit to the Republic in 1649, he had been sidelined by noblemen from the opposition who had accused him of the abuse of power. He had then fled to Sweden and had even been a member of the Swedish delegation negotiating with Denmark about peace in 1658. Although the Danish King Frederick III forgave Ulfeldt later in exchange for half of his lands, Ulfeldt had then sealed his fate by plotting against Frederick. He was sentenced to death in absentia for high treason. Execution of the sentence became unnecessary when Ulfeldt drowned in the river Rhine during his flight in 1664. The Dutch ban on his history in 1678 is consistent with the alliance existing between the Republic and Denmark from 1674 onwards during the war against France.³⁷

In 1694, the Danish envoy Christian von Lenthe confronted the Republic with his displeasure about a Dutch translation printed in Rotterdam of Robert Molesworth's *An account of Denmark, as it was in the year 1692*. Holland was inclined to ban the publication because it gave offence to the Danish King.³⁸ Molesworth agitated against the lack of political freedom for the population caused by too much royal power. The idea as such must have appealed to the political elite of the Republic, but the way in which Molesworth praised the original counterbalance offered by the Roman-Catholic Church as a preferable

Haarlemsche Courant', *Handelingen en mededeelingen van de Maatschappij voor de Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (1873), pp. 3–132, at pp. 24–25.

35 *ResSvH* 1672, pp. 74–75 (5 August); Knuttel, nr. 264.

36 *ResSvH* 1678, p. 469 (6 September); Knuttel, nr. 179.

37 In 1678, however, the Republic and Denmark did have different ideas about how to make peace with France. See A.C.L. Wierema, 'Denmark as an Ally of the Dutch Republic during the "Guerre d'Hollande" (1674–1679)', in Jacques Ph.S. Lemmink and J. [Hans] S.A.M. van Koningsbrugge (eds.), *Baltic Affairs: Relations between the Netherlands and North-Eastern Europe 1500–1800* (Nijmegen: INOS, 1990), pp. 397–412.

38 Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, pp. 73–74, 425 (notes 378 and 379).

state of affairs would undoubtedly have been frowned upon by the Reformed leaders of the Republic. Here are some quotations from his conclusion to illustrate this:

It has been a general Mistake among us, That the Popish Religion is the only one, of all the Christian Sects, proper to introduce and establish Slavery in a Nation (...); I shall make bold to say that other Religions, and particularly the *Lutheran*, has succeeded as effectively in this Design as ever Popery did. (...); and whoever takes the pains to visit the Protestant Countries abroad, who have lost their Liberty (...) will be convinced that it is not Popery as such, but the Doctrine of a blind Obedience in what Religion soever it be found, that is the destruction of the Liberty, and consequently of all the Happiness of any Nation. (...) I say more effectively, because the dependance which the Romish Clergy and Monks have on the Church of *Rome*, causes often a clashing of Interests, and derogates from that intire Obedience the Subjects owe to the Prince (...): but in *Denmark*, as well as other Protestant Countries of the North, through the entire and sole dependance of the Clergy upon the Prince (...) slavery seems to be more absolutely established than it is in *France* (...).³⁹

Later in the book, Molesworth even compared the Turkish regime favourably with the Danish, which he presumed to be short-lived. However, the Danes were too indolent to rebel, while other European states propped up the Danish throne against the Swedes.⁴⁰ Such analyses touched upon more aspects than those in power in the Republic were comfortable with. The explanation of the Dutch ban must therefore lie deeper than just the humouring of another Protestant nation. Although the Reformed Republic despised absolute rulers, it would still rather defend a Lutheran nation than Rome.

The ban on the *Memoires d'une reine infortunée*, prompted by a Danish request of 1776, resembles the Ulfeldt case in terms of background and motives. The book had been written by the disgraced Danish Queen Caroline Mathilde. She had had a relationship with the royal physician J.F. Struensee, who for some time had exercised the authority of her mentally ill husband Christian VII and had been eliminated in 1772. The Danish court would rather not be reminded of this painful affair and therefore tried to have the translated version of Caroline Mathilde's biography that recounted it banned. Various authorities in the

39 Robert Molesworth, *An Account of Denmark, as it Was in the Year 1692* (London: Timothy Goodwin, 1694; repr. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1976), pp. 258–261.

40 Ibidem, pp. 262–271.

Republic were willing to support this request actively.⁴¹ In 1772, the Danish government had already tried to interfere with the reporting about Struensee in the *Gazette de Leyde*, but this had not gone down well with the paper's publisher.⁴²

In the case of remote Russia, there was no religious solidarity as with Denmark. A Russian request of 1670 mainly illustrates the lack of knowledge about this country in the Republic. The Russians had seen the tsar designated as the 'Grand Duke of Moscovy' in various Dutch newspapers, which they considered an insult. They were also dismayed about a newspaper article stating that Moscovy was Islamic. The Estates General asked the provinces to reprimand their newspapermen for their use of the wrong title.⁴³ With the arrival of Peter the Great, the attention paid to Russia in the Western European press increased substantially and thus the chance of 'unfortunate' statements. In 1720, the city authorities of Rotterdam imposed a publication ban on the *Rotterdamsche Courant* because of defamatory remarks about Peter the Great. Two years later, the same thing happened to the *Amsterdamsche Argus* magazine, after a complaint from the Russian envoy Prince Kurakin about a vulgar passage.⁴⁴ The Republic had no use for insults directed at Russia in a period when the relationship with this country became more intense in many respects. In 1730, *La quintessence des nouvelles historiques, critiques, politiques, morales et galantes* got the short end of the stick. The Estates of Holland requested Amsterdam to take action against this biweekly magazine after repeated complaints from the Russian court. The decision was also influenced by the fact that several governments had expressed their dissatisfaction with the magazine. Furthermore, it contained many passages intended to corrupt public morals.⁴⁵

41 After a Danish request, the authorities also censored the *Lettre d'un Danois impartial ou chevalier Meanwell à Yorke, en forme de replique à une libelle infâme, intitulé Mémoires d'une reine infortunée*. Knuttel, nrs. 230 and 258; Ton Jongenelen, *Van smaat tot erger: Amsterdamse boekverboden 1747–1794* (Amsterdam: Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman, 1998) (henceforth referred to as 'Jongenelen'), nrs. 122 and 124.

42 Rietje van Vliet, 'Annales Beligiques (1772–1776): conservatief verlichte ideeën over macht en gezag', *Tijdschrift voor tijdschriftgeschiedenis*, 9 (2001), pp. 25–33, at pp. 30–31; Jeremy D. Popkin, *News and Politics in the Age of Revolution: Jean Luzac's Gazette de Leyde* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989), pp. 140–141.

43 Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 417 (note 254). For another Russian complaint about a newspaper article, in 1680, see Sautijn Kluit, 'De Haarlemsche Courant', pp. 22–24.

44 Willem Pieter Sautijn Kluit, 'De Rotterdamsche Courant', *Mededeelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden, over het jaar 1878* (Leiden, 1878), pp. 1–92, at pp. 27–28; Koopmans, 'Over of onder de toonbank', pp. 15–16.

45 *ResSvH* 1730, p. 771 (13 September); Knuttel, nr. 333.

In 1764, the Russian embassy in The Hague again took action on several occasions, now on behalf of the government of Catherine the Great. These cases involved comments objectionable to the Russians about the way in which Catherine had ascended the throne and had attempted to safeguard it. In one of these texts, Catherine was accused of murdering the incarcerated successor to the throne, Prince Ivan.⁴⁶ Finally, several publication bans issued by cities occurred in 1775. The Hague stopped the publication of *Le faux Pierre III*, the French translation of a Russian text about the impostor who claimed to be Tsar Peter III. Following a Russian request, Amsterdam censored *La Foutro-manie, poeme lubrique en six chants*, a text revealing details about the international clientele of the best-known prostitutes in Paris.⁴⁷ No Dutch library contains a copy of this infamous title, so that it is difficult to find out which prominent Russians may have sampled the Parisian nightlife.⁴⁸

With the exception of the latter case, most Russian censorship cases concerned lese-majesty. Out of respect for the upcoming nation of Russia—not to mention self-interest—the Republic did not hesitate to impose censorship for this reason.

3 Pressure from Prussia and Complaints by the Emperor

Not until 1705 do we find the first censorship case instigated by Prussia. False rumours about its king and a poem criticising the Stadtholder prompted the Prussian envoy Wolfgang von Schmettau to appeal to The Hague. The Estates of Holland were prepared to start an investigation of the author and the printer.⁴⁹ As with the Russian cases, Dutch censorship on account of Brandenburg-Prussia mainly occurred in the eighteenth century. This was the period in which these countries claimed their rightful place within the European system of nations. The Republic, itself on a downward spiral internationally, could ill afford to irritate these new powers. Nearly all censorship cases involving Prussia happened during the reign of Frederick II the Great (1740–1786). In 1745, for

46 The titles of these publications were *Lettres d'un officier Allemand à un gentilhomme Livonien etc.* and *Remarques d'un anglois*. Jongenelen, nrs. 92 and 93.

47 Knuttel, nr. 311; Jongenelen, nr. 120.

48 For the various reprints of this text, see Guillaume Apollinaire, Fernad Fleuret and Louis Perceau, *L'enfer de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Mercure de France, 2013), e.g. nrs. 541–546.

49 The title of the pamphlet was *Haec libertatis ergo. ResSvH 1705*, p. 529 (25 November); Knuttel, nr. 163.

example, during the Austrian War of Succession, one case involved *Les lamentations de Prusias, roi de Bithynie*, which insulted Frederick II.⁵⁰ In 1758, during the Seven Years' War, some letters supposedly exchanged between Frederick and his eldest brother but in fact written by F.A. Chevrier and published at a time when Prussia's outlook was bleak, became the target of censorship.⁵¹ During his wars, Frederick II was also extremely displeased with the Dutch newspapers, which he believed paid far too much attention to the Prussian defeats.⁵²

In 1758, the Grand Pensionary of Holland received another Prussian complaint, this time about the French adventurer Jean-Henri Maubert de Gouvest on account of his pamphlet *Ephraïm justifié*. In it, Maubert discussed the financial position of Saxony and compared this country to Prussia, which at that moment was at war with Saxony. Maubert was arrested and deported from the Republic.⁵³ In 1764, this remarkable character would reappear in Amsterdam and become entangled in legal proceedings. He was rightfully suspected of the authorship of *La pure vérité*, a work containing negative passages about the Duke of Württemberg. When it appeared in 1765, Amsterdam immediately banned it without waiting for a foreign censorship request. A recent analysis of the content of this diatribe not only reveals its defamatory nature but also the casualness with which the author assumed he had the right to report political abuses.⁵⁴ At that time, this attitude was still unacceptable to any person of authority. If it had not prohibited the publication of *La pure vérité*, the Republic would not only have incurred the wrath of the German states, but it would also have removed itself too far from the European community of nations.

As we know, Frederick II himself also put pen to paper. In 1760, he witnessed the censorship of his *Poésies diverses* in the Republic on the grounds that it was blasphemous.⁵⁵ As in the case of James I in 1611, the authorities did not refrain from prohibiting the work because its author was a king. In the same year, a version of Frederick's *Oeuvres du philosophe de Sans-Souci* printed in Amster-

50 Banned by the Court of Holland. Knuttel, nr. 215, is surprised by the fact that the Dutch translation published in the following year was not hindered in any way.

51 Banned by Amsterdam. Knuttel, nrs. 28 and 77; Jongenelen, nrs. 54, 55, 56, and 57.

52 Goswin Josef Rive, *Schets der staatkundige betrekkingen tusschen de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden en het koninkrijk Pruissen, tot het huwelijk van prins Willem V (170–1767)* (Amsterdam: C.A. Spin & zoon, 1873), p. 171.

53 Knuttel, nr. 129; Jongenelen, nr. 53.

54 After spending three years in jail and paying a heavy fine, he was again banished in 1767. Jan de Vet, 'Jean-Henri Maubert de Gouvest (1721–1767): *La pure vérité* of waarheid als wraakneming', in De Haas with Altena (eds.), *Achter slot en grendel*, pp. 135–143.

55 Knuttel, nr. 313; Jongenelen, nr. 74.

dam was also censored, this time with the king's approval because of additions unacceptable to him.⁵⁶ In the next decades, during the conflicts between the Dutch patriots and the group around Stadtholder William v, the husband of his niece Wilhelmina, Frederick supported the Stadtholder. The following examples illustrate this. Instigated by the Prussian envoy F.W. von Thulemeyer, in 1782 the Estates General issued a ban on a pamphlet purporting that William v was an adopted child. In 1784, Frederick sent a letter to the Estates General criticising the anti-Stadtholder press in the Republic. This in turn resulted in slighting comments from the side of the patriots, after which the Prussian envoy repeatedly lodged protests, however without the desired result.⁵⁷ The Prussian military intervention in the Republic in 1787, which led to the flight of many patriots and the return of the Stadtholder to The Hague, made a bigger impression. With the Orangeists firmly in power, it is not surprising that several Dutch cities followed the French example in 1789, on the eve of the French Revolution, and banned the *Histoire secrète de la cour de Berlin*. This work written by the Comte de Mirabeau contained 'des détails très libres' about the court of the new Prussian king Frederick William II.⁵⁸

As far as the rest of the German Empire is concerned, pressure to impose censorship was only exerted on a few occasions. In 1606, the Estates General acknowledged a complaint lodged by the German Emperor Rudolf II against Ph.A. Codomannus's *Apologia pro Georgio Popelio barone de Lobkovitz*. The Emperor felt that this publication impugned his honour.⁵⁹ In 1688, the Republic's resident in Cologne conveyed a complaint made by an imperial minister concerning unseemly reports about its allies in a periodical published in The Hague. Holland promised to take action.⁶⁰ In 1730, the Estates of the same

56 Knuttel, nr. 308, wonders whether the Court of Holland knew that Frederick was the author; Jongenelen, nr. 71.

57 The title of the pamphlet: *Brief over de ware oorzaak van 's lands ongeval etc.* Jongenelen, nrs. 137 and 148; *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaerboeken etc.*, 27/2 (1782), pp. 1550–1556; *Dépêches van Thulemeyer 1763–1788*, Robert Fruin and Herman T. Colenbrander (eds.), Werken Historisch Genootschap, 3rd series nr. 30 (Amsterdam: J. Müller, 1912), p. 349.

58 Knuttel, nr. 183; Jongenelen, nr. 205. Amsterdam and Hague also banned *Les Prussiens dénoncés à l'Europe; par une société de témoins et de victimes de leur invasion dans la province de Hollande*. See Knuttel, nr. 330; Jongenelen, nr. 213.

59 Cornelis Cau (ed.), *Groot placact-boeck, vervattende de placaten, ordonnantien ende edicten van de Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden etc.*, vol. 1 (The Hague: Widow Hillebrant Jacobsz van Wou, 1658). pp. 449–450; Knuttel, nr. 31; Groenveld, 'The Mecca', p. 70; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 373 (nr. 14).

60 Following a tip from its own envoy in 1692, the Republic took action against a French news-

province stopped the sale of the unsold copies of a pamphlet published six years earlier that attacked the governor of the Austrian Low Countries, the Marquis de Prié. It had been commissioned by the Comte de Bonneval on account of misinterpreted comments made by family members of the marquis. On behalf of the Emperor, Prince Eugene of Savoy had conveyed his disapproval of this work to the Dutch envoy in Vienna. It was a pro forma ban, only intended to satisfy the Emperor, since many copies were already in circulation. The delegates from Holland also responded with some irritation. They had wanted to take action earlier, but complaints had never been received. Meanwhile, Vienna had been complaining about objectionable passages in Dutch newspapers, which could be published because of the lack of pre-emptive checks as was customary in Austria. In this case, the Estates of Holland retorted even more sharply. Dutch newspapermen depended on their foreign correspondents and were in no position to check the truth of the news items they received. In other words, erroneous reporting was inevitable. This was true for all nations, including the states of the Emperor.⁶¹ The Republic, which on occasion did punish persons who insulted foreign ministers,⁶² was therefore not prepared to put up with everything.

4 Criticisms of the Press from the Southern Neighbours Pre-empted⁶³

In 1660, the Estates of Holland reacted sharply to a request for censorship legislation made by the French ambassador Jacques-Auguste de Thou on account of a tract slandering prominent Frenchmen. The delegates decided to have the Estates General send him a copy of the censorship edict of 1651, to indicate that his request had been superfluous.⁶⁴ Of course, it would not be wise to treat representatives of powerful France in such a manner all too often. Especially in

paper published in Rotterdam over a misleading passage about an official of the Elector of Saxony. Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 83.

61 *ResSvH* 1730, pp. 630–632 (13 July); Knuttel, nr. 346.

62 Apart from the examples in the text, this was also true in 1747 in the case of *Le mercure historique et politique*. Knuttel, nr. 261.

63 In view of the theme of the conference, censorship requests from the countries outside the North Sea-Baltic Sea region will only be discussed briefly. However, for a proper evaluation of the issues they cannot be omitted entirely.

64 *ResSvH* 1660, pp. 8–9 (23 November); Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 65. Earlier bans at the request of the French had been imposed in 1645 (*ibidem*, pp. 55, 379 (nr. 98)), in 1646 (Knuttel, nrs. 319 and 320), and in 1651 (Knuttel, nr. 139).

periods of enmity, for its own safety the Republic had to deal cautiously with this southern neighbour. Out of fear of aggression by Louis XIV, for example, in 1669 the Estates General decided to tighten up their earlier edict. Thus they hoped to prevent defamatory publications about the French monarchy. The immediate cause was the publication of several obscene works about life at the French court, which—incidentally—were also deemed inappropriate for Dutch youth. In the last decades of the seventeenth century, Paris regularly lodged complaints about newspapers in the French language printed in the Republic and for the most part edited by émigré French Huguenots. Forced by international tensions, the Estates General repeatedly prohibited the publication of these newspapers after 1679.⁶⁵

After the press in England had been liberalised, France became the only country in the eighteenth century to submit censorship requests to the Republic on a fairly regular basis. Outside the European wars of succession, the Dutch could respond to such requests without undue fear of French expansion. Most censorship cases brought up by the French had political backgrounds and either involved insults or all-too-frank comments about the French court and its representatives.⁶⁶

Spain only urged censorship to be imposed on a few occasions. In 1649, the Spanish ambassador Antoine Brun protested against anti-Spanish pamphlets, some of which were even pasted on his own home.⁶⁷ Other complaints described elsewhere were lodged in 1651, 1691 (twice), 1778, and perhaps 1776.⁶⁸ A Spanish protest made in 1778 against a rumour about the Spanish king in a French newspaper published in the Republic met with a highly favourable response from the Estates of Friesland. Although the *Leeuwarder Courant*, the local newspaper, had not taken over the article, it was still forced to publish a

65 Knuttel, nr. 180; Groenveld, 'The Mecca', pp. 72–73; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, pp. 54–59, 72–73, 82–83. For actions taken against seditious engravings containing cartoons of foreign sovereigns, see *ibidem*, pp. 85–86.

66 Censorship cases in the eighteenth century concerning France occurred e.g. in 1718–1719, 1721, 1734, 1737, 1739, 1742, 1746, 1749, 1753, 1757, 1759, 1761, 1766, 1772–1775, 1783, 1789, and possibly 1793. These cases were separate from the censorship imposed on works by the well-known French authors Voltaire and Rousseau. Their books were forbidden by the Republic without prompting because the content was considered harmful to the population for religious and moral reasons. See Joop W. Koopmans, 'Om de lieve vrede? Nederlandse censuur in de achttiende eeuw vanwege de buitenlandse betrekkingen', *Jaarboek voor Boekgeschiedenis*, 11 (2004), pp. 83–97.

67 Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 414 (note 208).

68 Knuttel, nrs. 32, 94, 98 (a ban on an attack on the authorities in the Spanish Low Countries) and 352; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 73.

rectification of this news item.⁶⁹ To conclude this survey of censorship requests grouped by nation, it should be stated that censorship requests from other European regions have not yet been found.

5 Evaluation

The two countries which criticised the press in the Dutch Republic most frequently were England and France. The English regularly laid censorship requests on The Hague's doorstep in the seventeenth century only; the French did so in the eighteenth century too. In that century, they were occasionally joined by the Russian and Prussian envoys. Censorship requests from Russia and Prussia, as well as from the other European states, may be regarded as incidental, perhaps with the exception of the repeated protests against negative press utterances in the Republic about Peter the Great and Frederick II. Most English requests were inspired by a combination of power politics and religious factors. The English envoys tried to get the Dutch authorities to censor texts that could harm the position of the English dynasty and the Anglican Church. The French complaints were usually prompted by political and sometimes also by moral motives, although part of the criticised passages were written by émigré Huguenots. However, French protests about their activities mainly concerned Huguenot impertinences about French politics and less about the French Catholic Church and its doctrine. Conversely, some of the British dissenters who fled to the Republic did use the country mainly to disseminate their theological ideas.

In many cases, the Republic was willing to take action concerning censorship requests made by foreign envoys, both in response to explicit protests and with foresight when it expected diplomatic tensions. Foreign nations were not to be offended, particularly not when their heads of state felt insulted. Censorship requests that had no bearing on Dutch politics appear to have been honoured with hardly any objection. The same is true for publications that could also have caused civil unrest or loss of face for the Dutch political elite. The fear of foreign retaliation, albeit formulated implicitly, also prompted the Republic to take censorship measures. Fear of negative effects on Dutch trade can only

69 Frisian response to a request made by the Estates General on 20 May 1778. Tresoor—Frysk Histoarysk en Letterkundich Sintrum (formerly Ryksargyf yn Fryslân), Staten van Friesland 1580–1795, inv.nr. 185, Resolutiën van de Staten van Friesland, 11 November 1778, fol. 113.

be indirectly inferred from the motivation for imposing the ban requested by England in 1624 over the Amboina issue.

In cases of foreign censorship requests, the Dutch authorities usually made a hardheaded assessment of their potential impact on the national interest. In most cases, the response was—as customary in diplomacy—polite and correct. Sometimes true moral indignation can be discerned, particularly in the case of publications that were also regarded as corrupting the morals of the Dutch population. Only occasionally do the sources reflect Dutch grumpiness. Undoubtedly, more displeased reactions will have been uttered behind closed doors and manifested in delaying tactics. In the longer term, foreign complaints did result in preventive policy-making and a tightening-up of censorship edicts.

It seems obvious to assume that the Republic was mainly in a position to reject foreign censorship requests in the era of its greatest power, the seventeenth century. Negative publications about states with which it was waging war at the time would even have been welcomed as propaganda. Yet such a tendency—a clear peak of censorship requests followed by rejections—cannot be discerned in the seventeenth century. What is striking is that the first documented Spanish censorship request dates only from 1649, a year after the peace treaty between Spain and the Republic had been signed. Obviously, any censorship requests lodged in the earlier period of enmity would have met with little success, and none will probably have been submitted.

Apart from self-preservation, the preventive prohibitory clauses in the edicts against negative publications about foreign sovereigns, including the Pope, reflect a moral standard that has substantially eroded in the twentieth century, particularly since the rise of the tabloid press. It would be interesting in this respect to reverse the central question of this article. Have the Dutch authorities ever been irritated by negative utterances about the Republic in foreign publications and have they ever submitted requests for publications bans as a result?⁷⁰ Such a study would flesh out our ideas about the limits of early modern tolerance of the press.

70 This has indeed occurred, for example the request lodged with France in 1620 to ban a publication that falsely accused the Dutch East India Company and the Dutch authorities. *ResStGen*, vol. 4, 1619–1620. Smit and Roelevink (eds.), p. 364. Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 48, discusses another example of Dutch criticism dating from 1621.

Spanish Tyranny and Bloody Placards: Historical Commonplaces in the Struggle between Dutch Patriots and Orangists around 1780?*

In September 1781, the Dutch nobleman Joan Derk van der Capellen tot den Pol anonymously published his pamphlet, *To the People of the Netherlands*,¹ considered to be a core text of the Dutch Patriot Movement. During the final two decades of the eighteenth century, this group opposed the Orangists and their leader, Stadtholder William v of Orange-Nassau, contesting his authority and seeking to put an end to the abuses of what they considered to be a corrupt oligarchic system. They strove to reestablish old civil liberties and legal equality for all church denominations. A number of them also advocated the further democratisation of the Dutch political system.²

In this influential pamphlet Van der Capellen provides an interpretative commentary on Dutch history, clarifying how and when things had gone wrong in his country. He refers several times to the Dutch struggle for freedom from the Spanish Habsburgs during both the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth. In a somewhat exaggerated manner, he describes Philip II,

* This chapter was earlier published in Joop W. Koopmans and Nils Holger Petersen (eds.), *Commonplace Culture in Western Europe in the Early Modern Period, 111: Legitimation of Authority* (Leuven, Paris and Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2011), pp. 35–54. I wish to thank Edwina Hagen, Ton Jongenelen, Pim van Oostrum, Rietje van Vliet and Pieter van Wissing for their suggestions. Tim Huijgen inspired me to write the section about Joannes Nomsz.

1 The Dutch title is 'Aan het volk van Nederland'. This pamphlet was soon translated into French, German and English. Quotes from the pamphlet in this paper are derived from *An Address to the People of the Netherlands, on the Present Alarming and most Dangerous Situation: Showing the True Motives of the most Unpardonable Delays of the Executive Power in Putting the Republic into a Proper State of Defence, and the Advantages of an Alliance with Holland, France and America* (London: J. Stockdale, 1782).

2 See E.A. [Lydie] van Dijk etc. (eds.), *De wekker van de Nederlandse natie: Joan Derk van der Capellen 1741–1784* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1984); Ewout Klei, "Notre Wilkes": De theatraal tegendraadse stijl van optreden van Joan Derk van der Cappellen tot den Pol, *Overijsselse historische bijdragen*, 120 (2005), pp. 104–127; Gijs Kuijper, 'Van voorbeeld tot vergetelheid: Amerika in Nederlandse publicaties', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 26 (2003), pp. 158–166, at pp. 158–159; Maarten Prak, 'Citizen Radicalism and Democracy in the Dutch Republic: The Patriot Movement in the 1780s', *Theory and Society*, 20 (1991), pp. 73–102.

the prince to whom the rebellious Dutch renounced their allegiance in 1581, in the following manner:

Philip, King of Spain and master of our country, was an ambitious Prince, who like his father [Charles v] and his other ancestors, had deprived his subjects in Spain and his other dominions, of their liberties and privileges, and now intended to introduce slavery into our Netherlands.³

The message of these and similar phrases could not escape the readers of the time: the Dutch should not allow anyone to deprive them of their 'liberties and privileges' or 'slavery' would follow.

Van der Capellen was definitely not the first nor the only author using the images and events of the Dutch Revolt (1568–1648) to reinforce his argument. Quite the contrary, this had become common practice in the late sixteenth century and continued during the seventeenth.⁴ References to the Dutch resistance functioned as examples that were immediately understood by the Dutch populace. Whenever Dutch freedom was threatened, the call to remember those who struggled against the 'Spanish yoke' and to follow their example returned with force. The idea that the earlier struggle had been in vain was unthinkable to the Dutch, and it was imperative that the freedom gained would be safeguarded for the future. In the Dutch Republic around 1780, friends and foes were agreed on this; however, Patriots and Orangists strongly disagreed on the course of the Republic's political future and the structure of authority. In the light of this struggle it is interesting to examine how the rival groups began to use the memories of the rebellion for their own political gain. What symbolic value did they attribute to the persons, events and concepts that were deemed important in the late eighteenth century?

Following a general introduction to the people, events and concepts involved, I will respond to the question above using three texts and some pertinent examples. The three texts are a political petition from 1770 by Orangist Elie Luzac, the pamphlet by Patriot Van der Capellen from 1781 and some fictitious rhymed letters from 1785 by the political opportunist Joannes Nomsz. My purpose is to argue that some historical comparisons with and references to the Dutch Revolt in these sources may be viewed as commonplaces, or at

³ Van der Capellen tot den Pol, *An Address to the People of the Netherlands*, p. 9.

⁴ Judith Pollmann, *Het oorlogsverleden van de Gouden Eeuw: Oratie uitgesproken bij de aanvaarding van het ambt van bijzonder hoogleraar op het gebied van de Geschiedenis en Cultuur van de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden aan de Universiteit Leiden vanwege de Stichting Legatum Perizonianum op vrijdag 27 juni 2008* (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 2008), pp. 7, 12.

least have clear similarities with this form. As in other papers in this [2011] volume, the concept of commonplaces refers to 'cultural material with both past and present currency within a given language community. Their reference is to opinions commonly accepted as valid. And they are deployed primarily as tools for argument in discourse designed to promote and reinforce culturally sanctioned modes of thought.'⁵ Obviously, the 'language community' in question is the Dutch population of the time.

1 Interest in the Dutch Revolt around 1780

Collective memories of the Dutch Revolt have been shaped and encouraged in several ways since the days of the late sixteenth-century Republic. Examples include heroic stories transmitted through historical works, plays, poems, prints, paintings and songs, the minting of memorial coins and the erection of monuments, as well as the organisation of commemorations of important moments of the rebellion. One specific example is a well-known book from the seventeenth century, reprinted many times, called the *Spiegel der jeught, ofte een kort verhaal der voornaemste tyrannye ende barbarische wreetheden, welcke de Spangiaerden hier in Nederlandt bedreven hebben etc.* [Mirror of the youth, or a short story about the most important tyranny and barbaric cruelties which the Spanish committed in the Netherlands (see also Figure 34)].⁶ In this way, all members of the populace, including those with very little education, remained aware of the courageous struggle that supposedly had been waged against Spain. Some events became highly mythologised, such as the famine that was said to have been suffered during the 1574 siege of Leiden. Less pleasant events and painful experiences, for example Dutchmen denouncing one another or even murdering each other during the Revolt, were ignored.⁷ Only

5 Ann Moss, 'Power and Persuasion: Commonplace Culture in Early Modern Europe', in David Cowling and Mette B. Bruun (eds.), *Commonplace Culture in Western Europe in the Early Modern Period, 1. Reformation, Counter-Reformation and Revolt* (Leuven, Paris and Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2010), pp. 1–17, at p. 1.

6 For example, in 1614 (see Pollmann, *Het oorlogsverleden*, pp. 9–10, 12), 1631, 1663, 1680 and 1687. The Leiden University Library keeps a 19th edition copy from 1631, printed in Amsterdam. It is interesting to note that the French wars against the Dutch Republic at the turn of the seventeenth century led to the book *Nieuwe spiegel der jeught, of Franssche tyrannye, zijnde een kort verhael van den oorsponck en voortgangh deses oorloghs* [New mirror of the youth, or French tyranny, being a short story about the origin and progress of this war], printed in Utrecht in 1707, thus during the War of the Spanish Succession.

7 Pollmann, *Het oorlogsverleden*, p. 8.



FIGURE 34 The alleged Spanish tyranny in the New World against the native Americans—the so-called Black Legend—intensified the ideas about the supposed Spanish tyranny in the Netherlands. This image comes from the Dutch version of Bartolomé de las Casas, *Den vermeerderden spieghel der Spaansche tierannye in Westindien etc.* (The increased mirror of the Spanish tyranny in the Westindies etc.), which was printed in Amsterdam in 1621.

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the image of the ‘obstinate War, to avert Spanish Despotism and protect Liberty and Conscience’ was of interest and this basic message was repeated endlessly.⁸

Around 1780 several factors rekindled interest in the rebellion. They were in the first place the commemorations of important events that occurred in the struggle around 1580. In 1779, for example, it was the bicentennial anniversary of the Union of Utrecht, celebrating the agreement concluded by the regions of the Netherlands that had rebelled against Philip II. This document acted as the foundation of the Republic. New editions of the Union text had been published during the 1770s to encourage study of its content. New studies were

⁸ Quote (in translation) from the Frisian *Leeuwarder Courant*, 3 January 1781.

also published, the best known being a four-volume study by the Patriot lawyer Pieter Paulus.⁹ Other moments were also commemorated, such as the capture of Brielle in 1572 by the Sea Beggars—the start of the successful rebellion against the regime of Philip's governor Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba—and the relief of Leiden in 1574, which always drew much attention. The commemoration of 200 years of the *Acte van verlattinghe* [Act of Abjuration], the Dutch declaration of independence, followed in 1781 with the Dutch Revolt remaining a political theme of great currency.¹⁰

The Patriots used the commemorations to emphasise that the hard-fought liberty was at risk of being lost, while the Orangists also used the Revolt to display their patriotism. The latter praised the stadtholders from the House of Orange-Nassau and in particular William of Orange (1533–1584), who had emerged as the leader of the rebellion and had paid for this with his life. Bullet holes in the Prinsenhof in Delft—now a museum—still recall the moment of the Prince's assassination by Balthazar Gerards. In contrast the Patriots drew attention to those who had criticised the policies of the stadtholders. In other words, the interpretation of the past correlated to a high degree with political orientation,¹¹ leaving the meaning of historical names and concepts equivocal and subject to change over time.

A good example is the changing meaning of the term 'patriot'. The group calling themselves the Patriots during the 1780s, monopolised this label, to the great displeasure of the Orangists. During the so-called Year of Disaster in 1672 and during the threat of French invasion in 1747 those who had wished for a return of the Orange dynasty had called themselves 'patriots'. However, around 1780 the labels were reversed. Opponents of the House of Orange-Nassau now claimed the label 'patriots' and asserted that they would prevent the decline

9 Gerrit Jan Schutte, 'Van grondslag tot breidel der vrijheid: Opvattingen over de Unie van Utrecht in het laatste kwart van de achttiende eeuw', in Simon Groenveld and Huib L.Ph. Leeuwenberg (eds.), *De Unie van Utrecht: Wordings en werking van een verbond en een verbondsacte* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1979), pp. 199–225, at pp. 199–203. Paulus published his *Verklaring der Unie van Utrecht in 1775–1778*. See E.J. Vles, *Pieter Paulus (1753–1769): Patriot en staatsman* (Amsterdam: Bataafsche Leeuw, 2004), pp. 25–34.

10 See e.g. Francesco Sbarra, *Tieranny van eigenbaat: Toneel als wapen tegen Oranje*, Tanja Holzhey and Kornee van der Haven (eds.) (Zoeterwoude: Astrea, 2008), p. 12; Johannis le Francq van Berkhey, *Het verheerlijkt Leyden, bij het tweede eeuwgetijde van deszelfs heuchlijk ontzet etc.* (Leiden: Hendrik Coster en Heyligert, 1774), and Adriaan Kluit's inaugural lecture *Inwijdingsrede over 't recht, 't welk de Nederlanders gehad hebben, om hunnen wet-tigen vorst en heer, Philips, koning van Spanje, aftezweren* (Leiden: Johannes le Mair, 1779). The last two authors belonged to the Orangists. Marleen de Vries, *Beschaven! Letterkundige genootschappen in Nederland 1750–1800* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2001), pp. 235–236.

11 Ibidem, p. 235.

of the fatherland.¹² Unsurprisingly, the Orangists disagreed, hence the title of one of their periodicals: the *Ouderwetse Nederlandsche Patriot* [Old-fashioned Dutch Patriot].¹³

At the same time, imagery from the Revolt again became current. The edicts of the Spanish Habsburgs against the Protestants had been called 'bloody placards'. Alba's Council of Troubles, the court of justice that pronounced sentences of heresy from 1567, had been popularly known as the 'Bloody Council'. The expression 'bloody placard' would later return, referring to other dramatic measures, such as the regulation against the Contraremonstrants, the opponents of the Arminians, drafted in 1616 by the Rotterdam pensionary Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) for his city government.¹⁴ This measure was called the 'Bloody Placard of the New Inquisition'. In the 1780s, Patriots from Guelders used the term 'bloody placards' in reference to regulations against publications critical of Stadtholder William v. Meanwhile, Patriots from Friesland used the term to designate regulations against Patriot civic guards and periodicals in their province. In Patriot circles this gave rise to great indignation, and a fake placard was circulated in Friesland with the names of the members of the States of Friesland who had voted in favour of these regulations written in red ink. All these cases referred to the 'Bloody Placards' of the sixteenth century.¹⁵

The Fourth Anglo-Dutch War also reinforced memories of the Revolt. Starting in 1780, the war was caused by supposed Dutch support for the American struggle for independence and it would last until 1784. Once again, Dutch freedom had to be fought for. The Anglo-Dutch War generated a flood of patriotic poems, pamphlets and also new political periodicals, with criticism of the war as their main theme.¹⁶ One of the new periodicals was the pro-Patriot *De Post van de Neder-Rhijn* [The Post of the Lower Rhine], which first appeared in early

12 Cf. Niek C.F. van Sas, 'De vaderlandse imperatief: Begripsverandering en politieke conjunctuur, 1763–1813', in idem (ed.), *Vaderland: Een geschiedenis vanaf de vijftiende eeuw tot 1940* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999), pp. 275–308, at pp. 278–279. In 1672, France, England, Münster and Cologne attacked the Dutch Republic. Thus, the year is called *Rampjaar* (the Year of Disaster).

13 See Ton Jongenelen, 'De Ouderwetse Nederlandsche patriot', in Pieter van Wissing (ed.), *Stooschriften: Pers en politiek tussen 1780 en 1800* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2008), pp. 19–36.

14 The phrase in Dutch is 'Bloedplakkaat van de Nieuwe Inquisitie'. Petrus J. Blok, *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche volk*, vol. 2 (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1924), p. 451; Henk Nellen, *Hugo de Groot: Een leven in strijd om de vrede 1583–1645* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2007), p. 178.

15 Frank R.H. Smit, 'Mijnheer de Friessche Patriot! De politieke pers in Friesland 1780–1787', in Wiebe Bergsma etc. (eds.), *For uwz lân, wyv en bern: De patriottentijd in Friesland* (Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy, 1987), pp. 111–126, at pp. 121–122.

16 De Vries, *Beschaven!*, p. 261.

1781. Alongside editorials and letters to the editors this periodical contained poems by various authors, including, for example, the Zeelander and man of letters Jacobus Bellamy (1757–1786). In April 1782 he published 'Aan het Vaderland' [To the Fatherland] under the name of Zelandus, which contained the following lines:

Zie slegts den weg te rug van tweemaal honderd jaaren,
Toen hebt gij 't Spaansch geweld van uwen hals gerukt.
Thans wil America dier fierheid evenaaren,
America te lang door Britsch geweld gedrukt.¹⁷

[Just look back twice one hundred years
When thou pulled the Spanish violence from thy neck
Today America wishes to match that pride
America, too long oppressed by British violence.]

In the Orangist 'answer' to *De Post van de Neder-Rhijn*, called *De Post naar den Neder-Rhijn* [The Post to the Lower Rhine], this poem was parodied under the name of Zelandus, but this was of course not Bellamy. It contains the following lines:

Zie vrij den weg te rug van tweemaal honderd jaaren;
Toen hebt g' U, dat is waar, GEWEETENSDRANG ontruikt,
Dus, zou Amerika uw moed thans evenaaren,
't Moest dan, als gy, zyn door GEWEETENSDRANG gedrukt.¹⁸

[Look freely back twice one hundred years; / When you,
it's true, freed yourselves from OPPRESSION OF YOUR CONSCIENCE
Hence, should America now match your courage,
It must, like you, suffer from the OPPRESSION OF ITS CONSCIENCE.]

The authors agreed on the importance of the Revolt but disagreed on the situation in America. The Orangist Zelandus was of the opinion that it made more

17 Peet J.H.M. Theeuwen, *Pieter 't Hoen en De Post van den Neder-Rhijn (1781–1787)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), p. 147; Pieter van Wissing, 'De Post naar den Neder-Rhijn: een "mission impossible"?', in idem (ed.), *Stooschriften: Pers en politiek tussen 1780 en 1800* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2008), pp. 37–58, at p. 50. In 1782–1783 Bellamy published his patriotic book of poetry, *Vaderlandsche Gezangen van Zelandus*.

18 Quote from Van Wissing, 'De post naar den Neder-Rhijn', p. 51.

sense to make peace with the English than to recognise American independence, and this is what the Republic did between the publication of the two poems.¹⁹

In October 1781, the pro-Patriot newspaper in Leiden, the *Leydse Courant*, accused the English of hypocrisy by also comparing the Dutch Revolt to the American struggle for independence. It argued that England should not complain about Dutch support for the Americans because the English had, in a similar fashion, given support to the rebellious Dutch in the sixteenth century:

Voormaals waren de *Hollandsche* Provinciën aan *Spanjen* onderdanig, maar, door de dwinglandij van *Philips* den tweeden onderdrukt, stonden zy tegen hem op, verklaarden zig zelf onafhangelijk, en toenmaals handelde *Engeland* op dezelfde wyze, als nu tegen haar gehandeld word en waar over zy zig nu zo zeer beklagde. Zy ondersteunde die weerspannige Onderdanen tegen hen wettig Opperheer.²⁰

[At the time, the *Dutch* provinces were subject to *Spain* but, suppressed by the despotism of *Philip* the second, they stood up against him, declared themselves independent, and at the time *England* had acted in a similar way to those who act against her now and about which she now so strongly complains. She provided support to those Subjects rebelling against their legal Lord.]

The *Leydse Courant* was clearly not unique in this respect. The Dutch Revolt and the American struggle for independence had been compared many times over the years, both within the Republic and beyond. The Americans were seen as victims of unlawful taxation and an army of occupation, just like the Dutch. The British king, George III, was found to resemble Philip II, and his General, Thomas Gage, was likened to the Duke of Alba. Also, Thomas Hutchinson, the governor of Massachusetts, was compared to Cardinal Granvelle, while George Washington was likened to William of Orange.²¹ However, according to Pieter 't Hoen, the Patriot editor of *De Post van de Neder-Rhijn*, Washington and

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ *Leydse Courant*, 10 October 1781.

²¹ Hugh Dunthorne, 'Dramatizing the Dutch Revolt: Romantic History and its Sixteenth-Century Antecedents', in Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), pp. 11–31, at p. 16. Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle was one of Philip's most influential councillors in the Netherlands.

the Prince of Orange differed in that where Washington resisted all honours, William would have wanted to rule.²²

Along with the commemorations of the Dutch Revolt and the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War we can therefore identify the American struggle for independence as a catalyst in its own right for the above-mentioned increased interest in the rebellion around 1780, within as well as outside the Republic. Friedrich Schiller and Johann von Goethe would, at the end of the 1780s, make an international contribution with their respective plays *Don Carlos* (1787) and *Egmont* (1789), in which they again focused attention on the 1560s, the first decade of the Revolt.²³

2 Text One: the Petition by the Luzac Brothers (1770)

A petition by a group of Leiden booksellers addressed to their city government in 1770 is the first text presented here to investigate the extent to which a discourse of rebellion resonated in eighteenth-century reasoning. The petition is a request by three Leiden booksellers to the States of Holland to reject a proposal to appoint *censores librorum*, who were to be appointed in cities with five booksellers or more. We may assume that the petition was convincing, as the petitioners obtained what they sought. In the request, the authors did not openly attack their provincial and city governments, but rather provided critical commentary on their actions, in particular concerned with whether these governments would be imprudent enough to implement their plan.

The substance of the request was drafted by two brothers from Leiden, Elie (1721–1796) and Isaac Elias (1727–1790) Luzac. The elder brother, the enlightened printer-bookseller and lawyer Elie Luzac, was well known.²⁴ He was a

22 Theeuwens, *Pieter 't Hoen*, pp. 148–149.

23 Dunthorne, 'Dramatizing the Dutch Revolt', pp. 11–12, 18–20.

24 'Memorie, gedaen maken, en overgegeeven aen de Edele Groot Achtbaere Heeren, die van den gerechte der Stad Leyden, door ofte van wegens Cornelis van Hoogeveen junior, en Pieter van der Eyk en Daniel Vygh, tot apui van 't verzoek, door hun by Requeste aen hunne Edele Groot Achtbaerheden gedaen, omme te obtineeren, dat hun Edele Groot Achtbaerheeden gelieven the coöpereeren, ten einde het nader geredresseerd Concept-Plaacet tegen Godslasterlyke Boeken en Geschriften by de Edele Groot Mogende Heeren Staeten van Holland en Westfriesland werde gedeclineerd', *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaerboeken, of vervolg der merkwaardigste geschiedenissen, die voorgevallen zijn in de Vereenigde Provinciën, de Generaliteits landen en de volksplantingen van den staet*, 5/2 (1770), pp. 808–896. Cf. Rietje van Vliet, *Elie Luzac (1721–1796). Boekverkoper van de Verlichting* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2005), pp. 315–317.

convinced advocate of freedom of the press and the search for truth, and as such a man of his time. In 1747 he clashed with his city government by publishing the materialist book *L'homme machine* by Julien Offray de la Mettrie. During the 1780s, Elie Luzac would emerge as an Orangist ideologue who came to be hated by the Patriots.²⁵ We must keep in mind, however, that the Leiden booksellers drafted their petition ten years before the struggle between the Patriots and Orangists escalated. It is not linked to the later political controversy and is a politically neutral document in the context of this contribution.

Nonetheless, the petition contains striking references to the Dutch Revolt, employed to convince the governing bodies. The authors subtly observe that their text originates from 'Citizens and Inhabitants of a City [Leiden] that was the first to halt and thwart Spanish tyranny'.²⁶ In other words, the Leiden ancestors of the petitioners had participated in the Dutch freedom struggle and their heroism was still reflected in their offspring. However, the authors misrepresent history, for it was Alkmaar not Leiden which, in 1573, was the first Dutch city to break a Spanish siege. It is true, however, that the Leiden siege of 1574 lasted longer and caused more suffering than that of Alkmaar. Leiden's pride in its long, heroic resistance being much greater was therefore acceptable.

At some later point in their text, the authors refer, without much explanation, to Philip II, Alba and his 'Bloody Council'. By referring to the past they wished to demonstrate that governments should do everything to protect society from harm but were not permitted to limit the natural freedom of their citizens. Were the sovereigns to possess this right, then the persecution of heretics by Philip II and Alba would have been fully legitimate. The petitioners did not expect, however, that the States of Holland would be of such an opinion.²⁷ If they were, they would then act in the same manner as Philip II, Alba and his Council of Troubles, which evidently, for rhetorical purposes, the authors refer to as the 'Bloody Council'. The authors use a very potent device here, for no Reformed Holland regent would want to be identified with Spanish tyranny.

The authors also link the development of Dutch science to the expulsion of the Spanish Habsburgs: 'To what height have risen the various branches of Scholarship in this Province [Holland] since the enemies of the Reformed Reli-

25 Rietje van Vliet, 'Leiden and Censorship during the 1780s: The Overraam Affair and Elie Luzac on the Freedom of the Press', in Joop W. Koopmans, (ed.), *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Leuven, Paris and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2005), pp. 203–217; Van Vliet, *Elie Luzac*, pp. 307–317.

26 Ibidem, p. 840. The Dutch text: 'Burgers en Ingezetenen van eene Stad [Leiden], die de Spaensche tiranny het eerste gestuit en gefnuikt heeft.'

27 Ibidem, pp. 863–864.

gion, Suppressors of our freedom were driven out of the country.²⁸ According to the authors, by contrast, the clergy in Roman Catholic countries barred free research in the sciences, the result being the martyrdom of Catholic believers such as Balthazar Gerards, who assassinated William of Orange in 1584:

De Geestlyken duchten de vryheid van onderzoek; zy vreezen, dat, wanneer hunne zwakheden, gebreken en onkunde, bespeurd zouden worden, zy minder geëerd, geacht en gevierd zouden zyn. Dezelve grondbeginselen boezemen zy den Vorsten in; men eischt in Kerk en Staet eene blinde gehoorzaamheid; een blind geloof, een blind vertrouwen; geen menschen, maer slaeven. En wat is van die leere het gevolg? Dat men een Balthazar Gerhards de uiterste pynen hartvochtig ziet doorstaen, wae-nend, dat hy door den gepleegden moord de zaligheid zal verwerven.²⁹

[The Clergy fears freedom of research; they fear that if their weaknesses, shortcomings and ignorance could be traced, they would be less honoured, esteemed and celebrated. They feed the same principles to the Princes; one demands blind obedience to Church and State; a blind faith, a blind trust; no men, but slaves. And what is the outcome of that doctrine? That one sees a Balthazar Gerhards harshly suffer the most extreme pains, falsely believing that he will obtain salvation through the murder that he perpetrated.]

Strikingly, all explanation in this passage is again lacking, and the reference is not to Balthazar Gerards but to 'a Balthazar Gerhards'.³⁰ We may wonder if this name acts as a commonplace here. He represents the fanatical martyr of faith who blindly and in full surrender goes to the extreme, his name functioning as an 'enwrapped narrative'.³¹ Furthermore, the reference to 'slaves' is telling in this context.

28 Ibidem, p. 875. In Dutch: 'Tot welken top zyn de verschillende takken der Geleerdheid in deeze Provincie niet gereezen, sedert dat de Belagers van den Hervormden Godsdienst de Onderdrukkers onzer vryheid ten Lande zyn uitgedreven.'

29 Ibidem, p. 880.

30 His name has different variants. Today Balthazar Gerards is the most accepted.

31 Thanks to Frans-Willem Korsten, who suggested this term to me. It implicates that the name encapsulates a story.

3 Text Two: the pamphlet *To the People of the Netherlands* (1781)

The pamphlet *To the People of the Netherlands*, introduced at the beginning of this paper is the second text discussed here which references the Revolt. As indicated, the pamphlet was published anonymously, but it originated from the Overijssel nobleman Joan Derk van der Capellen tot den Pol (1741–1784), although this would only be proven at the end of the nineteenth century. Contemporaries therefore ignored the fact that the pamphlet originated from Dutch regency circles. In his opening, the author presents himself as an independent mind, but many readers would have understood from the content that the text was drafted by someone close to the political arena.³²

Baron Van der Capellen drafted his pamphlet as an open letter. By opting for anonymity—even the place of publication was disguised in the original Dutch text—the author could present his criticism of the authorities, and the Stadtholder in particular, with candour, the letter being an unqualified contestation of authority. *To the People of the Netherlands* was one of many pamphlets published during the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War, in this case shortly after the Battle of Dogger Bank in the North Sea, in August 1781. This was the war's only significant sea battle and both Patriots and Orangists claimed it as a resounding Dutch victory. In reality, its outcome was undecided, with both parties suffering many casualties and great material losses.³³

Van der Capellen was already known for his sharp criticism of nepotism within the clique of Dutch regents. He also agitated vehemently against old feudal practices in his province of Overijssel, which caused him to lose access to the provincial States. Van der Capellen admired the ideals and successes of the American independence fighters. Like them, he argued in favour of popular sovereignty and the bearing of arms by civilians, expressing such views in *To the People of the Netherlands*.³⁴ The impact of his pamphlet may be compared to that of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* in America. It threw oil on the Dutch fire and mobilised vacillating Patriots into action against the regime of Stadtholder William v. The editors of a modernised edition of the pamphlet, published in

32 The Orangist Rijklof Michaël van Goens was one of the contemporaries who presumed that Van der Capellen, or people around him, were responsible for the pamphlet. Joan Derk van der Capellen tot den Pol, *Aan het volk van Nederland: Het patriottisch program uit 1781*, Hans L. Zwitter (ed.) (Amsterdam: Bataafsche Leeuw, 1987), pp. 8–9.

33 Joop W. Koopmans, 'Oorlogen in het vroegmoderne nieuws: Nederlandse nieuwsbronnen over militaire confrontaties', *Historisch Tijdschrift Leidschrift*, 22 (2007), pp. 103–121, at pp. 115–120. [See also this volume's chapter 13.]

34 Ibidem, pp. 9–14.

1981, liken both the structure and the sense of the text to a new 'Act of Abjuration'.³⁵ While this may be somewhat exaggerated, it is not without justification.

In his pamphlet Van der Capellen presents the Dutch Revolt as a purely political struggle for freedom and not as a conflict between Protestants and Catholics, as many before him had emphasised.³⁶ He writes for example:

But the [Dutch] people soon perceived [Philip's] designs, and the Roman Catholicks as well as the Protestants (...) united like brethren, to repel the common danger.³⁷

This view helped Van der Capellen enlist the support of the Catholic members of the population, who in 1781 still held a second-class position in the Republic. His implicit message was of course that Protestants and Catholics now needed to unite to fight Stadtholder William V, as they had done earlier against Philip II. He also favoured the emancipation of Catholics.³⁸

Van der Capellen writes extremely negatively concerning the Habsburg landlords and their representatives. Concerning Philip II he states:

[Philip II] entrusted the management of affairs to foreigners (...). And (...) he issued the most abominable edicts against those who embraced the reformed religion, and established the Court of *Inquisition*; which, without any regard to persons, rights, or privileges, was to enforce his laws by tormenting, hanging, or burning those conscientious and brave men, who were determined only to relinquish with life, their civil and spiritual freedom.³⁹

The Duke of Alba was one of the 'foreigners' who were 'universally hated by all ranks of the people, and (...) generally considered as the cause of all our present

35 Wim F. Wertheim and Hetty Wertheim-Gijse Weenink in *Aan het volk van Nederland: Het democratisch manifest van Joan Derk van der Capellen tot den Pol 1781* (Weesp: Heureka, 1981), p. 8.

36 This was the so-called Loevestein view, held by people such as the historian Jan Wagenaar. See, for example, Edwina Hagen, 'Een min of meer doodlyken haat': *Antipapisme en cultureel natiebesef in Nederland rond 1800* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2008), pp. 76–77.

37 Van der Capellen, *An Address*, p. 11.

38 *Aan het volk*, p. 16.

39 Van der Capellen, *An Address*, p. 10. The Spanish Inquisition was never introduced into the Netherlands. However, the Papal Inquisition functioned here, and furthermore, Philip's governor, the Duke of Alba, created the so-called Council of Troubles in 1567 to try and to condemn the suspects of the previous Protestant uprisings.

misfortunes'.⁴⁰ The past, with prominent figures such as the despised Cardinal Granvelle of Franche-Comté and the Spanish Duke of Alba, who on behalf of Philip II operated in the Netherlands in the 1560s, had shown that government by foreigners always ended badly.

In the above passage, Van der Capellen also draws an implicit parallel with his own era. Around 1780 it was William V who was robbing the Dutch people of its liberties, as Philip II had done before him. In addition, another foreigner acted as counsellor during Van der Capellen's era: Louis Ernest, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, who, according to the Dutch Patriots, caused great damage to the Dutch Republic.

Van der Capellen has a positive view of William of Orange due to the latter's campaign against Philip, however, his readers needed to be made well aware that the Prince of Orange also pursued his own self-interest and was not an advocate of democratic decision-making. He writes that the States of Holland had consented and decided in 1581 'that, for the future, the commons should not be consulted without their permission, which, it appeared afterwards, and still appears, they never had an intention to grant'.⁴¹ His conclusion:

We may learn from [this], that those nations who are zealous to preserve their liberties, should always be vigilant in their defence, and never place an unbounded confidence in any mortal.⁴²

Van der Capellen reiterates the well-known image of 'slavery' which is linked to Philip II—as shown in the introduction above—when he turns against the English and introduces the French king as an ally of the Dutch rebels:

The King of France, our old Ally, who had delivered us from the Spanish slavery; who during a course of eighty years had either privately supported us or openly fought on our behalf (...).⁴³

This view concords with Van der Capellen's stance in favour of France and against England, which he shared with other Patriots during the period of the American struggle for independence and the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War. Van der Capellen therefore negatively portrays the support given to the Dutch rebels by Queen Elizabeth of England around 1580. He presents the English as a 'per-

⁴⁰ Van der Capellen, *An Address*, p. 12.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 16–17.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 18.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 49.

fidious nation' seeking to usurp Dutch 'liberties' and for that purpose sending 'auxiliary troops' to the Netherlands under the command of 'the Earl of Leicester, a hypocritical villain'. Fortunately, he continues, the sage Grand Pensionary of Holland, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547–1619), together with the young Stadtholder Maurice (1567–1625), found a way to remove Leicester in 1587. However, thirty years on, in 1617, in the ecclesiastical conflict between the Arminians and their opponents, Maurice chose the wrong path, eliminating the pro-Arminian Oldenbarnevelt and turning the States of Holland into 'his slaves'.⁴⁴

Van der Capellen ends his open letter with the expectation of its being censored. A ban, he states, could be expected from the authorities, who do not wish to hear the truth. He also emphasises this with an example from the Dutch Revolt:

Remember that the King of Spain declaring our forefathers to be rebels, set a price on the life of Prince William I and ordered all the justifications, which that Prince and the States published in their defence, to be burnt by the hangman as infamous and seditious libels.⁴⁵

The pamphlet was in fact almost immediately banned. The Orangist authorities found that the text undermined the State and severely insulted Stadtholder William V.⁴⁶

4 Text Three: Patriotic Poetry by Joannes Nomsz (1785)

The third example comes from Joannes Nomsz (1738–1803). It consists of six letters in rhyme dating from 1785, entitled *Vaderlandsche brieven* [Patriotic letters], second part (see Figure 35).⁴⁷ A prolific Amsterdam writer, Nomsz enjoyed great notoriety during his time and in his region through his histori-

44 Ibidem, pp. 18–21.

45 Ibidem, pp. 131–132.

46 Willem P.C. Knuttel, *Verboden boeken in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden: Beredeneerde catalogus* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1914), pp. 124–125.

47 I have chosen the six letters from the second part for the practical reason that they were available on the Internet at the time of my research. Moreover, discussion of all twelve letters would exceed the scope of this article. Furthermore, and more importantly, some letters in the first part are irrelevant because they deal with people from the Spanish side. Nevertheless, other letters in the first part contain some striking anti-Spanish examples, which confirm my conclusions based on the second part.



FIGURE 35 Title page from the second part of Joannes Nomsz' 'Patriotic Letters' (1785)

cal plays and other literary works. He also translated several works by Voltaire, whom he greatly admired. Politically, Nomsz was an opportunist. Until the early 1780s he was an Orangist; however, during the turbulent revolutionary years that followed, his sympathy was with the Patriotic camp, probably for financial reasons. With the Orangist revolution of 1787 he returned to the stadtholder's camp, which allowed him to continue to operate within the Republic.⁴⁸ The *Vaderlandsche brieven* were published during Nomsz's Patriot

48 Gerrit Kalf, 'Jan Nomsz', in idem, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde*, vol. 6 (Gro-

phase and this is clearly evident. It is also one of his many publications in which he kept memories of the Dutch Revolt alive.⁴⁹ One may question whether this was his main motive, for unlike Van der Capellen, Nomsz was primarily interested in making money from his publications.

All of the letters chosen here concern the first decades of the rebellion, including the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–1621). The author does not present his letters in chronological order, the first set of three concerns the Truce, and the second set the period around 1570. During the Truce, the religious quarrels mentioned above were played out between orthodox Calvinists (the Contraremonstrants) and the followers of Jakob Arminius (the Remonstrants). For political reasons, Stadtholder Maurice sided with the Contraremonstrants, as his political rival, Grand Pensionary Oldenbarnevelt, who was undermining the stadtholder's military might, sided with the Arminians. Maurice eliminated his opponent by having him arrested and executed in 1619, accused of high treason.

Nomsz expresses his bewilderment over this political assassination by having the Grand Pensionary address the Prince in his first letter. The latter is presented as the valued commander who 'shattered Spain's hateful yoke (...)'.⁵⁰ However, Maurice is considered to have miscalculated when he entered the theological conflict, which led him into the same situation faced by the sixteenth-century Spanish princes, who had also opted for a single theology. Oldenbarnevelt—in the words of Nomsz—admonishes Maurice as follows:

Wat toch heeft Spanjes grond van ketterbloed doen rooken?
Een' Torquemadoos⁵¹ drift voor de eer van Romes kerk:
Die leeräär heeft zyn' vorst gedurig voorgesproken,
Als waar' de kettermoord een heilverdienend werk.
Zeg niet, doorluchte vorst! [Maurice] dat Romes priesterscharen
't Alleen zyn die door 't zwaard haar heerschzucht doen gestand;⁵²

ningen: J.B. Wolters, 1910), pp. 476–484; Thomas M.M. Mattheij, *Waardering en kritiek. Johannes Nomsz en de Amsterdamse Schouwburg* (Amsterdam: Huis aan de Drie Grachten, 1980), pp. 113–137; Wisse A.P. Smit, 'De vaderlandse epen van Johannes Nomsz 1779; 1789', in idem, *Kalliope in de Nederlanden: Het Renaissancistisch-klassicistisch epos van 1550 tot 1850*, vol. 2 (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp., 1983), pp. 775–803, at pp. 776–777; Pieter van Wissing, *Stokebrand Janus 1787* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2003), pp. 177–179.

49 Mattheij, *Waardering*, *passim*. Nomsz was not the only author who chose this form. In 1784, *Vaderlandsche brieven* were published under the pseudonym Janus Ironicus, and letters under the same title from 1785 have been attributed to Elie Luzac.

50 Johannes Nomsz, *Vaderlandsche brieven*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Willem Holtrop, 1785), p. 5.

51 Tomás de Torquemado (1420–1498) was the first Grand Inquisitor in Spain.

52 Nomsz, *Vaderlandsche brieven*, vol. 2, p. 8.

[What made Spain's soil smoke with heretics' blood?
 The passion of a Torquemado for the honour of Rome's church:
 That teacher continuously spoke to his prince
 As if the effort of killing heretics earns salvation.
 Do not say, illustrious prince [Maurice] it's only Rome's priestly hosts
 That satisfy her lust for power with the sword;]

In this passage Nomsz links the problems of the sixteenth-century Church with those of the Republic in the early seventeenth century. In this way he indirectly argues in favour of the separation of Church and State propagated by the Patriots, with the prince standing above all parties, because a sovereign who identifies with just one church becomes a tyrant. That, he believes, was the experience of the Dutch people, as is apparent from the following lines, where the Duke of Alba and the Inquisition are also mentioned without explanation:

Een volk dat om 't geloof zyne oudren had zien slagten,
 Een volk door Alvaas voet, noch kort geleên, gedrukt,
 Daar 't Inquisitievuur noch voor hun oog moest gloeijen,
 Daar 't ketterdoodend zwaard in 't oog noch glinstren moest,⁵³

[A people that watched its ancestors slaughtered for their faith
 A people, only a short while ago, oppressed by Alba's foot,
 While the Inquisition's fire still was to glow before their eyes
 While the heretic killing sword still was to sparkle in their eyes.]

In his second letter, Nomsz chooses to write as Maria van Reigersberch, addressing the letter to her spouse, the scholar and politician Hugo Grotius, during his detention in The Hague from August 1618 to June 1619.⁵⁴ As someone who shared Oldenbarnevelt's thinking, he was also a victim of Maurice's coup against the Remonstrant regents. Nomsz sides with Grotius, as expressed in the following:

(...) Zo verr' gaat dwinglandy,
 Die in dit vryë land met bloed haar stappen teekent,

53 Ibidem, p. 10. The context of this quote is Nomsz's treatment of the intolerant Calvinistic regime in Ghent (1578–1584), under the Calvinist preacher Petrus Dathenus, who opposed William of Orange's tolerancy policy.

54 Grotius was sentenced to life imprisonment and brought to Castle Loevestein, from which he escaped in a book chest in 1621.

En zelfs haar meesters slaat in 't juk der slaverny!
Haar meesters! naauwlyks 't juk des Kastiljaans [Philip II] onttogen! ...⁵⁵

[(...) Despotism goes so far
That in this free country it marks its steps with blood
And puts even her masters under the yoke of slavery!
Her masters! scarcely freed from the yoke of the Castilian [Philip II]! ...]

Clearly, Maurice's regime was considered to be no better than the Castilian regime of Philip II:

Wat baat ons nu niet meer Kastiljes juk te dragen,
Wat baat de breking nu van Philips ontzind geweld,
Nu wy ons schandlyk zien in Nassaus juk geslagen?
Nu Maurits hovaardy dit volk de wetten stelt?⁵⁶

[What use is it to us to no longer bear Castile's yoke
What use is it to us to have broken Philip's insane violence
Now that dishonourably we are put under Nassau's yoke
Now that Maurice's pride sets the law for this people?]

Nonetheless, he continued, the Dutch people would stand tall:

Neen! dat eer't eerlyk bloed, ter schand' huns dvinglands, vloeij!
Het week voor Philips geenszins, zou 't nu voor Maurits wyken?
Zou 't wislen van tiran? noch naauw' van banden vry! ...
Zo Maurits heerschen wil, hy heersch' hier over lyken⁵⁷

[No! rather let honest blood flow and shame the tyrant.
It did not yield to Philip, would it yield now to Maurice?
Would it change tyrant? hardly freed from its ties! ...
Should Maurice wish to rule, he'll rule here over corpses.]

It should be clear by now that despotism, slavery and tyranny constitute the core concepts that Nomsz chooses—as did Luzac, Van der Capellen and many others—to forcefully support his argument.

55 Nomsz, *Vaderlandsche brieven*, vol. 2, p. 19.

56 Ibidem, p. 20.

57 Ibidem, p. 26.

For his third letter, Nomsz chose as author the Grand Pensionary of Utrecht, Gilles van Ledenberg (c. 1550–1618), also in detention. The letter addresses Ledenberg's son Joost. Prince Maurice had sacked and then arrested Gilles van Ledenberg, a faithful partisan of Oldenbarnevelt, who then chose to commit suicide, an act which he justifies in this letter. He describes the court of justice that interrogated him as Nassau's 'Council of Blood' (*Nassaus bloedraad*),⁵⁸ rather than Alba's Bloody Council. This choice of words immediately alerts the reader to the idea that Maurice should be considered to have behaved just as tyrannically as Alba.

In the fourth letter, Nomsz writes as Lamoraal, Count of Egmond (1522–1568). In the 1560s, this nobleman led the resistance against Philip II, together with Philip de Montmorency, Count of Horne, and William of Orange. Alba arrested Egmond and Horne and had them beheaded in Brussels in 1568.⁵⁹ In the minds of the rebels and their offspring this act would remain associated with Alba and it became one of the traumatic memories of the struggle. The drafting of the letter is set in the Brussels' prison, the author addressing his spouse, Sabina of Bavaria, shortly before his execution.

The negative characterisations of Alba in this particular letter are not surprising, for the Duke was responsible for Egmond's death sentence. Alba is depicted as a man 'who drenches the Netherlands in blood and flames' and 'haughtily turns his will into law'. He is the 'evil rot, the source of the misfortunes of the Netherlands'.⁶⁰ Egmond finishes his letter with imagery of Spanish despotism, while consoling his spouse:

Die eedle vryheidszon is slechtst een wyl verduisterd
Door 't zwart der donderwolk van Spanjes dwinglandy⁶¹

[That noble sun of freedom is darkened only for a while
By the blackness of the thunderstorm of Spain's despotism]

58 Ibidem, p. 30 The famous Dutch author Joost van den Vondel had done the same in his poem 'Het Stockske van Joan van Oldenbarnevelt, Vader des Vaderlands' (The little Stick of Joan van Oldenbarnevelt, Father of the Fatherland) (1657) in the phrase "Geknot door 's bloetraets bittren wrock" (Clipped by bloody council's bitter resentment).

59 William of Orange had a lucky escape to Germany in 1567, from where he organised the resistance movement against Philip II.

60 Nomsz, *Vaderlandsche brieven*, vol. 2, pp. 39, 41. See also the curious dream of 'Liberius Gelrus' in the Patriot periodical *De Haagsche Correspondent*, nr. 9 (1786), pp. 65–72, in which Alba is one of the ghosts who walks before the coffin of the regent or 'Volks-verdrukker' (People's Oppressor).

61 Nomsz, *Vaderlandsche brieven*, vol. 2, p. 45.

It is remarkable that in a rare footnote Nomsz distances himself from the 'new finders of historic truth', who in his time denied that Alba and the Spanish behaved cruelly.⁶² It is unclear to whom Nomsz was referring. Possibly it was to the Patriots, who minimised the negative role of the Spanish in order to be able to paint a darker picture of Stadtholder William v. To the Groningen clergyman and Patriot, Bernardus Bruins, for example, William v was even worse than Alba and the devil.⁶³ Nomsz possibly also knew that at the performance of his play *Maria van Lalain, of, de verovering van Doornik* [Maria of Lalain, or, the conquest of Tournai] in 1783, the Patriotic-minded Amsterdam audience had applauded when they heard the words 'Nassau's prince, the pest of the Dutch states'. The subject was the sixteenth-century Prince William of Orange, who was also respected by most Patriots, but the audience evidently linked the words to Stadtholder William v. The anti-Orangist spectators even continuously cheered the actor playing the part of Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma—one of Alba's successors and therefore the enemy of William of Orange.⁶⁴ In 1787, Nomsz himself would write about *Willem den Vyfden* and his 'Partners in curse' who 'exceed *Philip* and the *Duke of Alba* in Cruelty'.⁶⁵ However, perhaps he was only paying lip service to his political friends of the time.

In the remaining two *Vaderlandsche brieven* from the second part, Nomsz's characterisations do not differ from those in the preceding letters. The penultimate letter is written in the name of Magdalena Moons (1541–1613), who addresses the Spanish commander Francisco Valdez during his siege of Leiden in 1574. Moons supposedly persuaded her dear Valdez to delay his attack on the city in exchange for her hand in marriage and this was said to have saved Leiden.⁶⁶ Valdez is characterised as the direct opposite of Alba:

Waar was hy [Valdez] Alba ooit gelyk in landverwoesten?
Waar was hy ooit een man van bloeddorst, of geweld?⁶⁷

62 Ibidem, p. 42.

63 In 1788 he would be expelled from his province forever because of this view. Regionaal Historisch Centrum Groninger Archieven, Huisarchieven Menkema en Dijksterhuis, inv. nr. 409. I am grateful to Peter Kamminga for this example.

64 Stephan R.E. Klein, *Patriots republikenisme: Politieke cultuur in Nederland (1766–1787)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), p. 139.

65 In nr. 83 of the Patriot *Oprechte Nederlandsche Courant* from July, quoted in Mattheij, *Waardering*, p. 122.

66 Els Kloek, 'Moons, Magdalena', in *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*. URL: <http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DVN/lemmata/data/moons> (consulted 28 February 2008).

67 Nomsz, *Vaderlandsche brieven*, vol. 2, p. 52.

[Where did he [Valdez] ever resemble Alba in destruction of the country?
Where was he ever a man of bloodlust, or violence?]

According to Moons, the Dutch population could learn from Valdez that not all Spaniards enjoyed 'the people's pain'.⁶⁸ Evidently, Nomsz was not averse to differentiating between Spaniards.

In Nomsz's last letter, set in 1572, Louis of Nassau writes to his oldest brother, William of Orange, from Mons in Hainaut while under siege. Louis had to surrender this city in the Southern Netherlands to Alba in that year, as Huguenot reinforcements failed to materialise from France as a result of the massacre on St Bartholomew's Day. In this letter, Alba is also portrayed as a cruel despot and tyrant who cares little for loyalty, word or oath. Louis' brother William of Orange in contrast is portrayed as seeking to protect the Dutch people from 'slavery' and wrest it from the 'Spanish coercion yoke'.⁶⁹

In radical Patriot circles the imagery of 'slavery' would not be reserved solely for the Spanish princes. They considered that the Dutch Revolt had also brought about 'slavery' under the House of Orange-Nassau and its partisans, and they identified the Spanish yoke with Nassau's. To the Patriots the Union of Utrecht was no longer the Republic's ideal foundation, for it brought disorder in its statecraft and exchanged 'one despot' (Philip II) for 'a multitude of tyrants' (the Dutch Orangist oligarchy).⁷⁰

5 Commonplaces and Contested Authority

The material from the last decades of the eighteenth century quoted above contains a great variety of text types and styles, and is written from several points of view. One finds documents, pamphlets, newspapers and periodicals, as well as prose and poetry in various forms. In addition, the material available includes fragments dating from before and throughout the Dutch revolutionary period of 1780–1787, and stems from authors belonging to several branches of society. As regards the revolutionary period, these authors belong to both the Orangist and the Patriot sides.

We may also distinguish between eighteenth-century texts that take the Dutch Revolt as a theme and printed material from the same period that dis-

⁶⁸ Ibidem, p. 55.

⁶⁹ Ibidem, pp. 59–64.

⁷⁰ Schutte, 'Van grondslag', pp. 212, 215.

cusses other themes. Regarding the eighteenth-century material on the rebellion we may further subdivide the sources into texts which discuss the first decades of the Revolt and material on the Twelve Years' Truce which may contain historical comparisons with the first phase of the struggle.

Understandably, the publications on the Revolt contain more qualifications and stereotypes of this struggle than those involved with the other themes. In the latter, the historical comparisons with the rebellion are more or less fortuitous. Yet both types of sources are of equal interest with respect to the issue of the characterisations and stereotyped images of the Revolt which are cited to strengthen and emphasise the argument. If we are to describe these images as commonplaces or similar concepts, they should occur in all sorts of texts and have unequivocal meanings.

This criterion is undoubtedly met in the case of the names of the opponents of the Dutch rebels that function as 'enwrapped narratives'. The hated Philip II and Alba are 'the villains' in nearly all types of texts and for all of the Dutch authors quoted. The Inquisition, the Bloody Placards and the Bloody Council represent 'evil' and poor government policy. In many cases all explanation of the historical context is lacking: simply uttering these names and concepts sufficed to create associations in the readers' minds with ruthless politics and politicians. The names of Philip II and Alba are in this way transfigured into commonplaces of a kind. The same process occurs with their institutions. In addition, references to the 'Bloody Council' and 'Bloody Placards' transcend the status of sobriquet since in later periods they are again chosen to mark comparable 'evil', as if they have become concepts in their own right.

In addition, the Spanish Habsburg enemy is continuously alluded to with the same words, in the form of both adjectives and nouns. Philip II and Alba are inevitably surrounded by the typically early modern words 'despotism' (*dwingelandij*), 'tyranny' (*tirannie*) and 'slavery' (*slavernij*). To the Protestant Dutch readership especially, these were familiar concepts, known from the Bible—referring to the people of Israel enslaved in Egypt—and the Calvinist insurrection doctrine in which the tyrant prince may be deposed. Because these concepts are continuously reused and because of their familiar historical meanings we may also describe the words 'despotism', 'tyranny' and 'slavery' as forms of commonplaces in this context.

The situation becomes more complex when we look at how the Orangists on the one hand and Patriots on the other describe the sixteenth-century rebels. Obviously for the Orangists, all members of the Orange-Nassau dynasty were 'heroes'. They did not identify Philip II with their Stadtholder William V and did not defy his authority, unlike the Patriots, for whom the rebellious personality, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, was unconditionally good, while William of

Orange and Maurice's virtues were considered to be limited. Here the two parties diverged, and unequivocal commonplaces and other concepts are absent. This leads to the fascinating conclusion that the phenomenon of commonplaces and similar concepts that were linked to the Dutch Revolt in the late eighteenth century must be limited to hostile images of foreign foes.

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Note: For surnames beginning with Dutch particles such as “de”, “den”, “van”, “van den”, “van der,” (and the same in Flemish, however, written with capitals after the first name[s]) and the French particle “Le”, see the root name (e.g., for Jan van den Broek, see Broek, Jan van den).

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Note: For surnames beginning with Dutch particles such as “de”, “den”, “van”, “van den”, “van der”, see the root name (e.g., for Margaretha van Bancken, see Bancken, Margaretha van). Patronyms, such as Broer Jansz, are alphabetically ordered under their first names.

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